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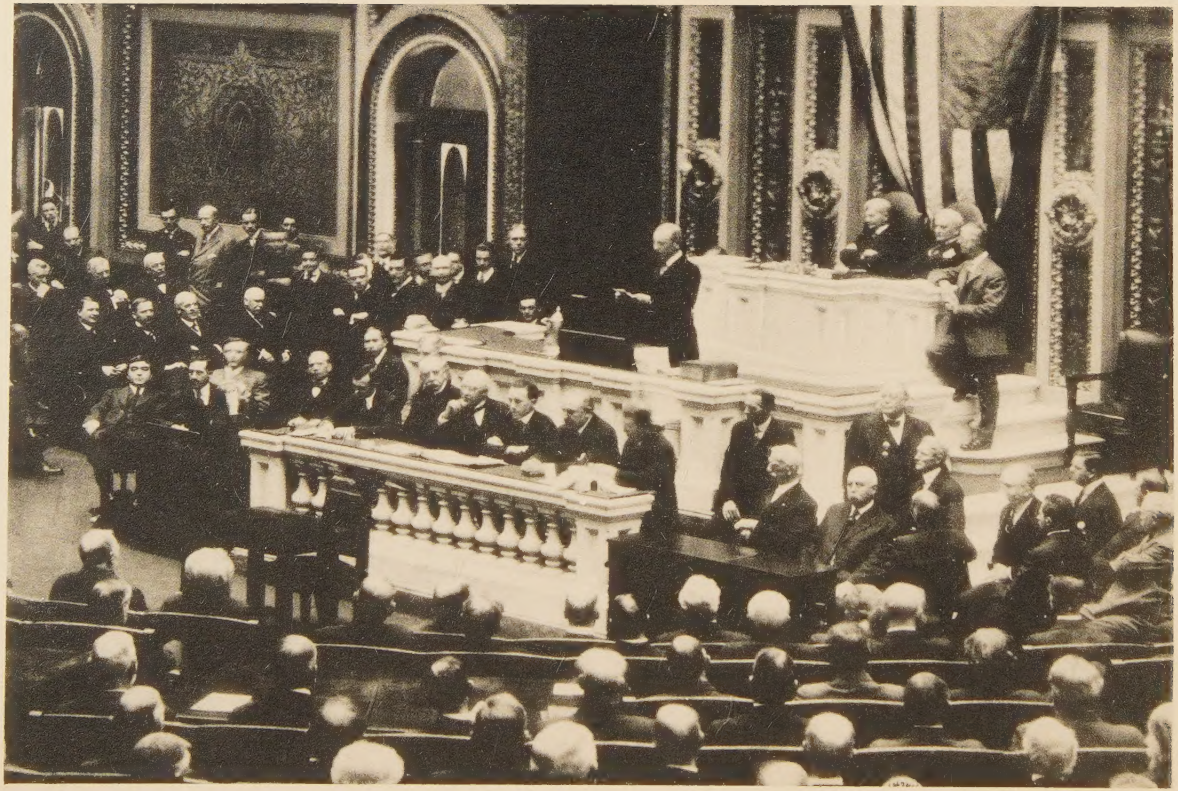
AMERICA IN THE GREAT WAR—AND AFTER

1916—1925



President Wilson Asking Congress to Declare War on Germany.
The Senate and House of Representatives in Joint Session, April 2, 1917

# AMERICA

Great Crises In Our History
Told by Its Makers

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Volume XII
America in the Great War—And After
1916—1925

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VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## VOLUME XII


PAGE

WAR WITH MEXICO IS THREATENED. By Robert Lansing, Secretary of State . . . . . 13

THE ZIMMERMAN TELEGRAM. From the German Foreign Secretary to the German Minister in Mexico . . . . 23

AMERICA DECLARES WAR ON GERMANY. President Wilson's Address to Congress and the Text of the Declaration 25

BRITAIN WELCOMES AMERICA INTO THE WAR. By Prime Minister David Lloyd George . . . . . 35

COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE. Proclaimed by President Wilson and Approved by Samuel Gompers . . . 39

MOVING OUR TROOPS OVERSEAS. By Vice-Admiral Albert Gleaves . . . . . 44

"ON THE BRINK OF THE PRECIPICE." Ambassador Walter H. Page to President Wilson . . . . . 49

AMERICA MOBILIZES. General John Pershing's Official Report . . . . . 54

PRESIDENT WILSON'S "FOURTEEN POINTS." From His Address to Congress . . . . . 61

THE "BIG BERTHAS" BOMBARD PARIS. Contemporary Press Report and That of General Rohne . . . . . 67

FOCH GIVEN THE SUPREME COMMAND. From General Pershing's Official Report . . . . . 72

PAGE

BRITAIN'S BACK TO THE WALL. Order of Sir Douglas Haig . . . . . 76

THE LIBERTY LOAN ARMY. By Guy Emerson, a Director of the Government Loan Organization . . . . . 78

AMERICAN TROOPS TAKE CANTIGNY. From General Pershing's Report . . . . . 81

THE LOSS OF THE "PRESIDENT LINCOLN." By Chaplain G. C. Whimsett, U. S. N. . . . . 84

HOLDING THE GERMANS AT CHÂTEAU-THIERRY. British Press Report and a French Tribute . . . . . 90

THE LAST GERMAN ATTACK IS HALTED. From General Pershing's Report . . . . . 93

FOCH LAUNCHES HIS GREAT COUNTER-ATTACK. By Captain Shipley Thomas, 26th Infantry, U. S. A. . . . 97

THE FIRST AMERICAN ARMY IN ATTACK. From General Pershing's Report . . . . . 117

BREAKING THE HINDENBURG LINE. United States Government Statement . . . . . 127

A CLOSE-UP OF THE GREAT ARGONNE BATTLE. By Major-General Robert Lee Bullard . . . . . 131

THE LAST A. E. F. DRIVE TO SEDAN. By General Sir Frederick Maurice, British Chief-of-Staff . . . . . 139

THE WAR IN THE AIR. By Captain Shipley Thomas, 26th Infantry, U. S. A. . . . . 147

AIRPLANE DUELS. By Major Edward Vernon (Eddie) Rickenbacker, American Ace of Aces . . . . . 151

HOW THE ARMISTICE WAS NEGOTIATED AND SIGNED. By Marshals von Hindenburg and Foch, and Eye-Witnesses . . . . . 158

PAGE

TERMS OF THE ARMISTICE. Official Text Translation . 166

PRESIDENT WILSON ACCLAIMS THE ARMISTICE. In an Address to Congress . . . . . 178

WRECKING THE GERMAN NAVY UNDER THE ARMISTICE. By Commander Charles G. Gill, U. S. N. . . . 184

THE KAISER ABDICATES AND APOLOGIZES IN EXILE. By William II of Germany . . . . . 187

THE ALLIES IN THE RHINELAND. By Gregory Mason, Correspondent With the American Army of Occupation .. 193

CLEMENCEAU ACCEPTS THE PRESIDENCY OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE. His Opening Address . . . . . 200

SIGNING THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES. By Harry Hansen, Special American Correspondent . . . . . 205

THE TREATY RESERVATIONS WHICH FAILED. Text of the Preamble and Fifteen Reservations . . . . . 214

PEACE, VOTED BY CONGRESS, IS VETOED AND FINALLY DECLARED. Text of the Knox Resolution and Wilson's Veto Message . . . . . 220

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT. By President Harding, Secretary Hughes and Elihu Root . . . . . 227

"BACK TO NORMALCY" WITH PRESIDENT HARDING. Memorial Address by Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State . . . . . 238

CALVIN COOLIDGE, THIRTIETH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. Press Account of His Taking the Oath of Office . . . . . 246

THE FIRST WORLD FLIGHT. Recounted by Pilot Lowell H. Smith to Flight Historian Lowell Thomas . . . . 250

PAGE

THE DAWES PLAN TO COLLECT FROM GERMANY. A Contemporary Analysis from "Current Opinion" . . . 258

SIGNS OF A REAL PEACE TREATY AT LOCARNO. Official Text of the Treaty . . . . . 263

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . . 271

INDEX . . . . . 273

AMERICA IN THE GREAT WAR—AND AFTER
1916—1925

# WAR WITH MEXICO IS THREATENED

*By Robert Lansing, Secretary of State*

*THIS review of the outrages perpetrated on American citizens by Mexican bandits and soldiery, secretly instigated by the German Government, is Secretary Lansing's official reply, dated June 20, 1916, to a protest from the de facto Government of Mexico against the presence of American troops in Mexico.*

*The bandit leader was Pancho Villa. His followers had invaded New Mexico, plundering and slaying civilians before U. S. troops arrived.*

*General Funston was authorized to send a strong American force into Mexico to "get Villa alive or dead," and disperse his murderous band. A force of over 4,000 men, under General Pershing, entered Mexico in March, 1916, and remained there until 1917. Several clashes had occurred with Mexican troops, with casualties on both sides, when President Wilson called for an army of militia to safeguard the Mexican border. War was averted, but our raw militia got good training for the sterner warfare that awaited them in Europe.*

SIR: I have read your communication, which was delivered to me on May 22, 1916, under instructions of the Chief Executive of the de facto Government of Mexico, on the subject of the presence of American troops in Mexican territory, and I would be wanting in candor if I did not, before making answer to the allegations of fact and the conclusions reached by your Government, express the surprise and regret which have been caused this Government by the discourteous tone and temper of this last communication of the de facto Government of Mexico.

The Government of the United States has viewed with deep concern and increasing disappointment the progress of the revo-

lution in Mexico. Continuous bloodshed and disorders have marked its progress. For three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of the Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered non-productive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will through the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States, who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests, have been taken, in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to justice. It would be difficult to find in the annals of the history of Mexico conditions more deplorable than those which have existed there during these recent years of civil war.

It would be tedious to recount instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread conditions of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed. During the past nine months in particular, the frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande has been thrown into a state of constant apprehension and turmoil because of frequent and sudden incursions into American territory and depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits, who have taken the lives and de-

stroyed the property of American citizens, sometimes carrying American citizens across the international boundary with the booty seized.

American garrisons have been attacked at night, American soldiers killed, and their equipment and horses stolen. American ranches have been raided, property stolen and American trains wrecked and plundered. The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progreso Post Office and Las Pelades, all occurring during September last, are typical. In these attacks on American territory, Carranzita adherents and even Carranzita soldiers took part in the looting, burning and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated. Representations were made to General Carranza, and he was emphatically requested to stop these reprehensible acts in a section which he has long claimed to be under the complete domination of his authority.

Notwithstanding these representations and the promise of General Nafarete to prevent attacks along the international boundary, in the following month of October a passenger train was wrecked by bandits and several persons were killed seven miles north of Brownsville, and an attack was made upon United States troops at the same place several days later. Since these attacks, leaders of the bandits well known both to Mexican civil and military authorities, as well as to American officers, have been enjoying with impunity the liberty of the towns of Northern Mexico.

So far has the indifference of the de facto Government to these atrocities gone that some of these leaders, as I am told, have received not only the protection of that Government, but encouragement and aid as well.

Depredations upon American persons and property within Mexican jurisdiction have been still more numerous. This Government has repeatedly requested in the strongest terms that the de facto Government safeguard the lives and homes of American citizens and furnish the protection which international obligation imposes, to American interests in the northern States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua and Sonora, and also in the States to the south.

For example, on January 3, the troops were requested to punish the bands of outlaws which looted the Cusi mining property, eighty miles west of Chihuahua, but no effective results came from this request. During the following week the bandit, Villa, with his band of about 200 men, was operating without opposition between Rubio and Santa Ysabel, a fact well known to Carranzita authorities. Meanwhile a party of unfortunate Americans started by train from Chihuahua to visit the Cusi mines, after having received assurances from the Carranzita authorities in the State of Chihuahua that the country was safe and that a guard on the train was not necessary. The Americans held passports or safe conducts issued by authorities of the de facto Government. On January 10 the train was

stopped by Villa bandits, and eighteen of the American party were stripped of their clothing and shot in cold blood, in what is now known as the "Santa Ysabel Massacre." General Carranza stated to the agent of the Department of State that he had issued orders for the immediate pursuit, capture and punishment of those responsible for this atrocious crime, and appealed to this Government and to the American people to consider the difficulties of according protection along the railroad where the massacre occurred. Assurances were also given by Mr. Arredondo, presumably under instructions from the de facto Government, that the murderers would be brought to justice, and that steps would be taken to remedy the lawless conditions existing in the State of Durango.

It is true that Villa, Castro and Lopez were publicly declared to be outlaws and subject to apprehension and execution, but so far as known only a single man personally connected with this massacre has been brought to justice by Mexican authorities. Within a month after this barbarous slaughter of inoffensive Americans, it was notorious that Villa was operating within twenty miles of Cusihuiriachic and publicly stated that his purpose was to destroy American lives and property. Despite repeated and insistent demands that military protection should be furnished to Americans, Villa openly carried on his operations, constantly approaching closer and closer to the border. He was not intercepted nor were his movements impeded by troops of the de facto Gov-

ernment and no effectual attempt was made to frustrate his hostile designs against Americans. In fact, as I am informed, while Villa and his band were slowly moving toward the American frontier in the neighborhood of Columbus, N. M., not a single Mexican soldier was seen in this vicinity. Yet the Mexican authorities were fully cognizant of his movements, for on March 6, as General Gavira publicly announced, he advised the American military authorities of the outlaw's approach to the border, so that they might be prepared to prevent him from crossing the boundary.

Villa's unhindered activities culminated in the unprovoked and cold-blooded attack upon American soldiers and citizens in the town of Columbus on the night of March 9, the details of which do not need repetition here in order to refresh your memory with the heinousness of the crime. After murdering, burning and plundering, Villa and his bandits, fleeing south, passed within sight of the Carranzita military post at Casas Grandes, and no effort was made to stop him by the officers and garrison of the de facto Government stationed there.

In the face of these depredations, not only on American lives and property on Mexican soil, but on American soldiers, citizens and homes on American territory, the perpetrators of which General Carranza was unable or possibly considered it inadvisable to apprehend and punish, the United States had no recourse other than to employ force to disperse the

bands of Mexican outlaws who were with increasing boldness systematically raiding across the international boundary.

The marauders engaged in the attack on Columbus were driven back across the border by American cavalry, and, subsequently, as soon as a sufficient force to cope with the band could be collected, were pursued into Mexico in an effort to capture or destroy them. Without coöperation or assistance in the field on the part of the de facto Government, despite repeated requests by the United States, and without apparent recognition on its part of the desirability of putting an end to these systematic raids, or of punishing the chief perpetrators of the crimes committed, because they menaced the good relations of the two countries, American forces pursued the lawless bands as far as Parral, where the pursuit was halted by the hostility of Mexicans, presumed to be loyal to the de facto Government, who arrayed themselves on the side of outlawry and became in effect the protectors of Villa and his band.

In this manner and for these reasons have the American forces entered Mexican territory. Knowing fully the circumstances set forth, the de facto Government cannot be blind to the necessity which compelled this Government to act, and yet it has seen fit to recite groundless sentiments of hostility toward the expedition and to impute to this Government ulterior motives for the continued presence of American troops on Mexican soil. It is charged that these

troops crossed the frontier without first obtaining the consent or permission of the de facto Government. Obviously, as immediate action alone could avoid, there was no opportunity to reach an agreement (other than that of March 10-13, now repudiated by General Carranza) prior to the entrance of such an expedition into Mexico if the expedition was to be effective. Subsequent events and correspondence have demonstrated to the satisfaction of this Government that General Carranza would not have entered into any agreement providing for an effective plan for the capture and destruction of the Villa bands.

While the American troops were moving rapidly southward in pursuit of the raiders, it was the form and nature of the agreement that occupied the attention of General Carranza, rather than the practical object which it was to obtain—the number of limitations that could be imposed upon the American forces to impede their progress, rather than the obstacles that could be raised to prevent the escape of the outlaws. It was General Carranza who suspended through your note of April 12 all discussions and negotiations for an agreement along the lines of the protocols between the United States and Mexico concluded during the period 1882-1896, under which the two countries had so successfully restored peace on their common boundary.

It may be mentioned here that, notwithstanding the statement in your note that "the American Government gave no answer to the note of April 12," this note was replied to on April 14. . . .

Shortly after this reply the conferences between Generals Scott, Funston and Obregon began at El Paso, during which they signed on May 2 a project of a memorandum ad referendum, regarding the withdrawal of American troops. As an indication of the alleged bad faith of the American Government, you state that though General Scott declared in this memorandum that the destruction and dispersion of the Villa band "had been accomplished," yet American forces are not withdrawn from Mexico. It is only necessary to read the memorandum, which is in the English language, to ascertain that this is clearly a misstatement, for the memorandum states that "the American punitive expeditionary forces have destroyed or dispersed many of the lawless elements and bandits . . . or have driven them far into the interior of the Republic of Mexico," and, further, that the United States forces were then "carrying on a vigorous pursuit of such small numbers of bandits or lawless elements as may have escaped."

The context of your note gives the impression that the object of the expedition being admittedly accomplished, the United States had agreed in the memorandum to begin the withdrawal of its troops. The memorandum shows, however, that it was not alone on account of partial dispersion of the bandits that it was decided to begin the withdrawal of American forces, but equally on account of the assurances of the Mexican Government that their forces were "at the present time being augmented and strengthened

to such an extent that they would "continue to diligently pursue, capture, or destroy any lawless bands of bandits that may still exist or hereafter exist in the northern part of Mexico," and that it would "make a proper distribution of such of its forces as may be necessary to prevent the possibility of invasion of American territory from Mexico." It was because of these assurances and because of General Scott's confidence that they would be carried out that he said that American forces would be "gradually withdrawn."

It is to be noted that, while the American Government was willing to ratify this agreement, General Carranza refused to do so, as General Obregon stated, because, among other things, it imposed improper conditions upon Mexico.

Notwithstanding the assurances in the memorandum, it is well known that the forces of the de facto Government have not carried on a vigorous pursuit of the remaining bandits, and that no proper distribution of forces to prevent the invasion of American territory has been made. I am reluctant to be forced to the conclusion which might be drawn from these circumstances that the de facto Government, in spite of the crimes committed and the sinister designs of Villa and his followers, did not and does not intend or desire that these outlaws should be captured, destroyed or dispersed by American troops, or, at the request of this Government, by Mexican troops.

# THE ZIMMERMAN TELEGRAM

*From the German Foreign Secretary to the German Minister in Mexico*

*IN sending this telegram to the German envoy, Herr von Eckhardt, in Mexico, Dr. Alfred Zimmerman, the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, displayed such diplomatic obtuseness as characterized Teuton statesmanship throughout the war. Secretary Zimmerman admitted the authenticity of the amazing, if not amusing, cipher dispatch, and Japan indignantly repudiated it. The American Government obtained a copy of it in a Washington telegraph office and it was decoded by the British Admiralty by means of a German code in possession of its Intelligence Service. As a result of the exposé Zimmerman was removed from office.*

*On January 31—twelve days after this historic episode—Germany proclaimed her resolve to wage ruthless submarine warfare, regardless of consequences. Ambassador von Bernstorff was given his passports, and our Ambassador, James W. Gerard, was recalled from Berlin. War was a foregone conclusion.*

ON February 1st we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America. If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there

shall be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan. At the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

Berlin, January 19, 1917.

ZIMMERMAN

# AMERICA DECLARES WAR ON GERMANY

*President Wilson's Address to Congress and the Text of the Declaration.*

*ADDRESSING Congress on February 3, 1917, President Wilson said he would wait for an "overt act" by a submarine to prove that the German Government meant to war openly on the United States. On March 2 following, the American steamship "Algonquin" was sunk without warning, and presently three other vessels met the same fate off the English coast. Thereupon Congress was summoned by the President to meet on April 2, "to receive a communication on grave questions of national policy." It was interpreted as being preliminary to war. Pacifists and pro-German Americans protested in vain; and the general populace accepted the decision as having been forced upon the United States by the Prussianistic leaders of Germany.*

*Herewith is the main part of President Wilson's address, followed by the text of the declaration of war passed by the Senate and House of Representatives, April 6, 1917.*

I HAVE called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the 3rd of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of

Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft, in conformity with its promise, then given to us, that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed.

The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.

This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside, under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these, which it is impossible to employ, as it is employing them, without throwing to the wind all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world.

I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination.

The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion. . . .

The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defence of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There

is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defence, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war. . . .

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension of those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs.

It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply

the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible.

It will involve the immediate full equipment of the Navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines.

It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States, already provided for by law in case of war, of at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation, because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits, which will now be necessary, entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people, so far as we may, against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible

in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field, and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the government upon whom the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall. . . .

Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments, backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized States.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days, when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns and tools.

Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor States with spies nor set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. . . . The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to

serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. . . .

It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. . . .

# TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF WAR

*Joint Resolution Passed by the United States Senate and House of Representatives*

[Effective April 6, 1917, at 1:18 p. m.]

WHEREAS, The Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, which has thus been thrust upon the United States, is hereby formally declared; and

That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

# BRITAIN WELCOMES AMERICA INTO THE WAR

*By Prime Minister David Lloyd George*

*A FEW weeks before making this speech at the American Club in London, April 12, 1917, David Lloyd George had become Prime Minister of England, in succession to Herbert Asquith. Previously (on the drowning of Lord Kitchener as the result of a German submarine attack on the British battleship "Hampshire" in the North Sea), in June, 1916, he had become Secretary for War.*

*His administration was called upon to face an extraordinary series of crises. In meeting them the new Prime Minister exhibited great resourcefulness and audacity in action, as well as fire and force in oratory, of which this is an excellent example. His quickness in grasping a situation, combined with his enthusiasm and courage, braced the British people to "carry on" to victory, and was of incalculable value to the Allies.*

*An equally cordial welcome was extended by Premier Ribot, in the French Senate.*

I AM in the happy position, I think, of being the first British Minister of the Crown who, speaking on behalf of the people of this country, can salute the American nation as comrades in arms, I am glad. I am proud. I am glad not merely because of the stupendous resources which this great nation can bring to the succor of the Alliance, but I rejoice as a Democrat that the advent of the United States into this war gives the final stamp and seal to the character of the conflict as a struggle against military autocracy throughout the world.

That was the note that rang through the great deliverance of President Wilson. . . . The United

States of America have a noble tradition, never broken, of having never engaged in a war except for liberty, and this is the greatest struggle for liberty they have ever embarked upon. I am not at all surprised, when one recollects the wars of the past, that America took its time to make up its mind about the character of this struggle. In Europe most of the great wars of the past were waged for dynastic aggrandizements and for conquest. No wonder that when this great war started there were some elements of suspicion still lurking in the minds of the people of the United States of America. There were many who thought, perhaps, that kings were at their old tricks, and although they saw the gallant Republic of France fighting, some of them perhaps regarded France as the poor victim of conspiracy and of monarchical swashbucklers. The fact that the United States of America has made up its mind finally makes it abundantly clear to the world that this is no struggle of that character, but a great fight for human liberty.

They naturally did not know at first what we had endured in Europe for years from this military caste in Prussia. It never has reached the United States of America. Prussia was not a democracy. The Kaiser promises that it will be a democracy after the war. I think he is right. But Prussia not merely was not a democracy. Prussia was not a State; Prussia was an army. It had great industries that had been

highly developed; a great educational system; it had its universities, it had developed its science.

All these were subordinate to the one great predominant purpose, the purpose of all—a conquering army which was to intimidate the world. The army was the spear-point of Prussia; the rest was merely the haft. That was what we had to deal with in these old countries. It got on the nerves of Europe. They knew what it all meant. It was an army that in recent times had waged three wars, all of conquest, and the unceasing tramp of its legions through the streets of Prussia, on the parade grounds of Prussia, had gone into the Prussian head. The Kaiser, when he witnessed on a grand scale his reviews, got drunk with the sound of it. He delivered the law to the world as if Potsdam was another Sinai, and he was uttering the law from the thunder clouds. . . .

Why is it that Germany deliberately in the third year of the war provoked America to this declaration, and to this action? Deliberately! Yes; resolutely! It has been suggested that the reason was that there were certain elements in American life which Germany was under the impression would make it impossible for the United States to declare war. That I can hardly believe; but the answer has been afforded by General Hindenburg himself in the very remarkable interview which appeared in the press.

He depended clearly on one of two things—that the submarine campaign would have destroyed international shipping to such an extent that England

would have been put out of business before America was ready. According to his computation, America would not be ready for twelve months. He does not know America. Then alternatively, and when America was ready at the end of twelve months with her army, she would have no ships to transport that army to the field of battle. In Hindenburg's words, "America carries no weight." I suppose he means that she has no ships to carry it in!

Well, it is not wise always to assume, even when the German General Staff has miscalculated, that they have had no ground for their calculation; and therefore it behooves the whole of the Allies—Britain and America in particular—to see that the reckoning of von Hindenburg is as false as the one he made about his famous line which we have already broken. . . . The road to victory, the guarantee of victory, the absolute assurance of victory is to be found in one word —ships! In a second word—ships! In a third word —ships! I see that America, with that quickness of comprehension which characterizes your nation, fully realizes that, and to-day I observe that they have already made an arrangement to build a thousand 3,000-tonners for the Atlantic. I think that the German military advisers must already begin to realize that this is another of the tragic miscalculations which is going to lead them to disaster and to ruin. . . .

# COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE

*Proclaimed by President Wilson and Approved by Samuel Gompers*

*CONGRESS passed the law authorizing military conscription on May 18, 1917, and the President immediately issued the accompanying proclamation, calling the nation to arms and directing how the law should be enforced. All our previous wars had been fought by volunteers, excepting for a brief period in the Civil War when the draft was resorted to in such localities as could not secure their allotted quota of soldiers otherwise.*

*The spirit in which the proclamation was received is reflected in the ensuing statement of Samuel Gompers, as head of the American Federation of Labor. Gompers, a former pronounced pacifist, urged American labor to support the war.*

*On June 5, in response to the draft call, about 9,500,000 men registered, representing practically the entire young manpower of the nation, the age limits of the first draft being twenty-one and thirty. No distinction was made between enlisted men and those conscripted.*

THE power against which we are arrayed has sought to impose its will upon the world by force. To this end armament has been increased until it has changed the face of war. In the sense in which we have been wont to think of armies, there are no armies in this struggle, there are entire nations armed. Thus, the men who remain to till the soil and man the factories are no less a part of the army that is France than the men beneath the battle flags. It must be so with us. It is not an army that we must shape and train for war; it is a nation.

To this end our people must draw close in one compact front against a common foe. But this can-

not be if each man pursues a private purpose. All must pursue one purpose. The nation needs all men; but it needs each man not in the field that will most pleasure him, but in the endeavor that will best serve the common good. Thus, though a sharp-shooter pleases to operate a trip-hammer for the forging of great guns and an expert machinist desires to march with the flag, the nation is being served only when the sharp-shooter marches and the machinist remains at his levers.

The whole nation must be a team, in which each man shall play the part for which he is best fitted. To this end Congress has provided that the nation shall be organized for war by selection; that each man shall be classified for service in the place to which it shall best serve the general good to call him.

The significance of this cannot be overstated. It is a new thing in our history and a landmark in our progress. It is a new manner of accepting and vitalizing our duty to give ourselves with thoughtful devotion to the common purpose of us all. It is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling; it is, rather, selection from a nation which has volunteered in mass. It is no more a choosing of those who shall march with the colors than it is a selection of those who shall serve an equally necessary and devoted purpose in the industries that lie behind the battle line.

The day here named is the time upon which all shall present themselves for assignment to their tasks. It is for that reason destined to be remembered as one of the most conspicuous moments in our history. It is nothing less than the day upon which the manhood of the country shall step forward in one solid rank in defense of the ideals to which this nation is consecrated. It is important to those ideals no less than to the pride of this generation in manifesting its devotion to them that there be no gaps in the ranks.

It is essential that the day be approached in thoughtful apprehension of its significance, and that we accord to it the honor and the meaning that it deserves. Our industrial need prescribes that it be not made a technical holiday, but the stern sacrifice that is before us urges that it be carried in all our hearts as a great day of patriotic devotion and obligation, when the duty shall lie upon every man, whether he is himself to be registered or not, to see to it that the name of every male person of the designated ages is written on these lists of honor.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the City of Washington this 18th day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-first.

# CONSCRIPTION IS APPROVED

*By Samuel Gompers*

I HAVE counted myself happy in the companionship of the men and women who called themselves pacifists. There was not a State or national or international peace society of which I was not a member, and in many instances an officer. As a trade unionist, with its practices and its philosophies, I have been in happy accord with our movement for international peace.

At a great gathering in Faneuil Hall, Boston, some years ago, I gave utterance to my soul's conviction that the time had come when great international wars had been put to an end, and I expressed the opinion that in the last analysis, if those who are the profit-mongers by "war" undertook to create a war, the working people of the countries of the world would stop work simultaneously, if necessary, in order to prevent international war. . . .

I was sent as a delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the International Congress of Labor in 1909, held at Paris, France, and there at that conference, incidental to it, there was arranged one of the greatest mass-meetings I have ever attended, at which the representatives of the labor movement of each country declared that there would not be another international war.

And I went home, happy in the further proof that the time of universal peace had come. . . . I doubt if there were many who were so thoroughly shocked to the innermost depths of their being as I was with the

breaking out of the European War. But it had come! and as it went on, ruthlessly, we saw a terrific conflict in which the dominating spirit was that the people attacked must be subjugated to the will of the great autocrat of his time regardless of how our sympathies ran, and that men who had given the best years of their lives in the effort to find some means, some secret of science or of nature, so that the slightest ill or pain of the most insignificant of the race might be assuaged, turned to purposes of destruction. At the call of this autocrat, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Germany, men were set at attack, and we found that these very men were clutching at each other's throats and seeking each other's destruction. . . .

The United States has declared that she can no longer live in safety when there is stalking throughout the earth this thunderous machine of murder. The United States authoritatively has declared that peace is desirable and should be brought about, but that peace is impossible so long as life and liberty are challenged and menaced. The Republic of the United States has cast her lot with the Allied countries fighting against the greatest military machine ever erected in the history of the world.

I am made ill when I see or hear any one suffering the slightest pain or anguish, and yet I hold that it is essential that the sacrifice must be made that humanity shall never again be cursed by a war such as the one which has been thrust upon us.

# MOVING OUR TROOPS OVERSEAS

*By Vice-Admiral Albert Gleaves*

*ADMIRAL GLEAVES, who commanded the Convoy Service protecting American transports and supply-ships on their voyages across the Atlantic, here recounts the manner in which this greatest troop movement in history was accomplished, beginning June 14, 1917. As stated, 1,142 troop-laden transports crossed the Atlantic, carrying a total of 2,079,880 American soldiers. The cruiser escorts were almost entirely American, as were the destroyer escorts through the submarine danger zone. But for the success of this unprecedented feat of transportation the war would have ended differently.*

*In recognition of his brilliant services, Gleaves was made a full admiral, and was awarded the Victory Medal with star, and D. S. M. (both Navy and Army). This account is taken from his "History of the Cruiser and Transport Force."*

ON the 23rd of May, 1917, I was informed in Washington that I had been selected to command the first expedition to France. I returned to New York at once, and personally inspected the ships which the War Department had taken over; after consulting with the Army Quartermaster in charge of the conversions we notified our respective departments that the expedition would be ready to sail on June 14th, and accordingly at daylight on that date in an exceptionally thick fog, the entire force got under way from North River and the Lower Bay, and stood out to sea in prearranged order. It was a memorable occasion when the transports backed out into the river from their piers, and the cruisers, yachts and destroyers weighed anchor. Only the most skillful handling

of the ships by their captains could have prevented collision at the start, but the necessity of the occasion justified all risks. . . .

The entire number of vessels in the expedition was thirty-seven, composed of cruisers, destroyers, converted yachts and transports. The total number of troops in the first division was 15,032, under command of Major General Sibert. . . .

Generally speaking, the formation of each group was to place the transports in the center, while the escorting ships were disposed on the flanks in such a way as to provide all around protection. The "Maumee," oil tanker, was sent on several days ahead of the expedition, with orders to maintain a certain position on the route for the purpose of refueling the destroyers at sea, a maneuver involving special gear and seamanship, which had been successfully developed in the destroyer force only a few months before. Without the ability to oil these destroyers at sea the expedition would have been greatly delayed, because all except the newest of them would have had to be towed.

The route of the expedition lay well north of the Azores, as it was known at that time the Germans were using those islands as a submarine base. The so-called submarine zone extended to 17 degrees west longitude, but the latest reports received from the Navy Department before sailing showed sinkings as far west as 30 degrees. . . .

The voyage was uneventful save for a night attack against the first group by submarines on the 22nd of June, 1917, in latitude 48°00′00″ north, longitude 25°50′00″ west. The following day the first group was met by a destroyer division from Queenstown and later by two French sloops which had been sent out to meet us, and to act as escort to Quiberon Roads. The next morning we arrived off St. Nazaire.

The second group was also attacked by a submarine when about 150 miles off the French coast. Commander Neill, who attacked the submarine, was subsequently decorated by the British Government for this exploit. The third and fourth groups arrived on schedule time, and on June 26th the last vessels were safely anchored in the St. Nazaire Roads.

This was only the beginning, but the way had been pointed out, and from this modest start was rapidly developed the greatest transport fleet in history. Subsequent voyages were of greater magnitude, but different only in details. Neither winter gales, nor heavy seas, nor the spread of submarinism to the very gates of our harbors ever delayed the sailing of a transport by an hour. . . .

There were, in all, 1,142 troop-laden transports that sailed from these shores for Europe, and they carried a total of 2,079,880 soldiers. Forty-six and one-quarter per cent. were carried in United States ships, and all but 2½ per cent. of these sailed in United States naval transports. Lacking a large mer-

chant marine, our government was compelled to contract with foreign governments for the transportation of 55¾ per cent. of this army in foreign bottoms. At great expense, a total of 208 foreign ships were employed: 196 British, eight French, two Italian, one Norwegian, one Portuguese and one Brazilian. Forty-eight and one-quarter per cent. of the United States overseas army was transported in British ships, 3 per cent. in British leased Italian ships and 2½ per cent. in French, Italian and other foreign ships.

In the month of July, 1918, during which more of our soldiers were transported in foreign ships than in any other month during the war, British ships carried 175,526, or 56½ per cent. of the month's total of 311,359. This was the greatest number transported in any one month under the British flag. In the same month of July, 1918, 11,502, or 3½ per cent. of the total, sailed in British-leased Italian ships; 11,866, or 4 per cent. of the total, in French, Italian and other foreign ships; and the remainder, 112,465, or 36 per cent. of the total, sailed in United States ships. This was the smallest percentage carried in any one month under the United States flag.

In the matter of providing escorts for these transports, however, the figures are more satisfactory, although here again it is to be remembered that the naval power of Great Britain was concentrated in the North Sea while that of France was held for the most part in the Mediterranean. All the troops carried in United States ships were escorted by United

States men-of-war; that is, cruisers, destroyers, converted yachts and other anti-submarine craft. Also, for the most part, the troops carried in British, French and Italian ships were given safe conduct through the danger zones by United States destroyers. In connection with this work it should be mentioned that, in addition to the twenty-four United States cruisers assigned for ocean escort duty, there were with my Force a squadron of six French cruisers to assist in this work and they did fine and useful service. Roughly, 82¾ per cent. of the maximum strength of the naval escorts provided incident to the transportation of United States troops across the Atlantic was supplied by the United States Navy, 14⅛ per cent. by the British Navy, and 3⅛ per cent. by the French Navy. . . .

General Pershing at the Historic Tomb of LaFayette in Picpus Cemetery, Paris, June 15, 1917

# "ON THE BRINK OF THE PRECIPICE"

*Ambassador Walter H. Page to President Wilson*

*HERE is first a telegram, dated, London, June 28, 1917, from Ambassador Page to President Wilson, followed by a letter written the next day, disclosing the precarious financial condition of Great Britain and the Allies at that time. Arthur J. Balfour, to whom particular reference is made, had succeeded Sir Edward Grey as British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Bonar Law was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Page relays a call for financial help from Britain to the United States, the Allies being "on the brink of the precipice."*

*It is well to remember that, since the war began, Great Britain had advanced to her Allies £193,849,000 (approximately $1,000,000,000), while the United States, at that time, had advanced to Great Britain $686,000,000 and to the other Allies $427,000,000.*

*This correspondence is taken from the "Life and Letters of Walter H. Page," by permission of Doubleday, Page & Co.*

MR. BALFOUR asked me to a conference at seven o'clock with him, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and their financial advisers. It was disclosed that financial disaster to all the European Allies is imminent unless the United States Government advances to the British enough money to pay for British purchases in the United States as they fall due.

Bonar Law reports that only half enough has been advanced for June and that the British agents in the United States now have enough money to keep the exchange up for only one day more. If exchange with England fall exchange with all European allies also will immediately fall, and there will be a general collapse.

Balfour understood that in addition to our other loans and our loans to France and Italy, we would advance to England enough to pay for all purchases by the British Government made in the United States. He authorizes me to say that they are now on the brink of a precipice, and unless immediate help be given financial collapse will follow. He is sending an explanatory telegram to Spring Rice.

I am now convinced that these men are not overstating their case. Unless we come to their rescue we are all in danger of disaster. Great Britain will have to abandon the gold standard.

* * * * *

THE financial panic (it's hardly less) that more than threatens this Government raises the question, Why on earth do the British drift along till they reach a precipice? That's hard to answer. It's their way. They are too proud to acknowledge their predicament even to themselves until events force them to do so. Mr. Balfour informs me that the agreement that he reached in general terms with Mr. McAdoo was this—that our Government would thenceforth lend (1) to France and Italy (and Russia?) the sums they would otherwise have to borrow from England (as they have all the while been borrowing) and (2) in addition lend to England whatever sums should be required to pay for British Government purchases in the United States. So much for that. I have no

information whether that is Mr. McAdoo's understanding.

Now, Bonar Law assured me at the fearful financial conference to which they invited me that the Treasury Department had given Lever (the English financial agent) only half enough in June to meet the British Government's bills in the United States. Since they had reckoned on meeting all such bills from advances made by us, they find themselves unable to go further without our help. They have used all the gold they have in Canada.

This, then, is the edge of the precipice. It came out that, a few weeks ago, the French came over here and persuaded the British that in addition to the French loan from the United States they were obliged to have the British loans to them continued —for how long, I do not know. Bonar Law said, "We simply had to do it."

The British, therefore, in spite of our help to France, still have France on their back and continue to give her money. I know that for a long time the British have felt that the French were not making a sufficient financial effort for themselves. "A Frenchman will lightly give his life for any cause that touches his imagination, but he will die rather than give a franc for any cause." There is a recurring fear here lest France in a moment of war-weariness may make a separate peace.

As things stand to-day, there is a danger of the fall of exchange and (perhaps) the abandonment

of specie payments. These British run right into such a crisis before they are willing to confess their plight even to themselves.

They are not trying to lie down on us: they are too proud for that. Why they got into this predicament I do not fully know. I know nothing of what arrangements were made with them except what Mr. Balfour tells me. It seems to me that some definite understanding ought to have been reduced to writing. But here they are in this predicament, which I duly reported by telegram.

It is unlucky that "crises" come in groups—two or three at once. But the submarine situation is as serious as the financial. I have a better knowledge of that than I have of the financial situation. But in one respect they are alike—the British drive ahead, concealing their losses, their misfortunes and their mistakes, till they are on the very brink of disaster: that is their temperament. Into this submarine peril (the Germans are fast winning in this crucial activity —there's no doubt about that) I have gone pretty thoroughly with their naval men and their shipping authorities. Admiral Sims has reached the same conclusions that I have reached—independently, from his point of view. The immediate grave danger for the present lies here. If the present rate of destruction of shipping goes on, the war will end before a victory is won. And time is of the essence of the problem; and the place where it will be won is in the waters of the approach to this Kingdom—not any-

where else. The full available destroyer power that can by any method be made available must be concentrated in this area within weeks (not months). There are not in the two navies half destroyers enough: improvised destroyers must be got. There must be enough to provide convoys for every ship that is worth saving. Merely arming them affords the minimum of protection. Armed merchantmen are destroyed every day. Convoyed ships escape—almost all. That is the convincing actual experience.

If we had not come into the war when we did, and if we had not begun action and given help with almost miraculous speed, I do not say that the British would have been actually beaten (Tho' this may have followed), but I do say that they would have quickly been on a paper money basis, thereby bringing down the financial situation of all the European Allies; and the submarine success of the Germans would or might have caused a premature peace. They were in worse straits than they ever confessed to themselves. And now we are all in bad straits because of this submarine destruction of shipping. One sea-going tug now may be worth more than a dozen ships next year.

# AMERICA MOBILIZES

*General John Pershing's Official Report*

*LANDING in France, June 13, 1917, General Pershing was the first American soldier in uniform to set foot on the continent of Europe for the purpose of making war. The next day Marshal Joffre conducted him to Napoleon's tomb, where the case containing the Emperor's sword was opened and the sword was handed to the American generalissimo—an unprecedented honor. He kissed it reverently and returned it to Marshal Joffre. On June 15, General Pershing visited Picpus Cemetery and placed a wreath of American Beauty roses on the tomb of Lafayette, with the historic remark, "Lafayette, we are here."*

*Six months later 176,665 American troops were in France; and on the day of the Armistice the American army numbered 3,665,000, of whom over 2,000,000 were at the front.*

*Pershing here reviews the vast military and industrial preparation that had to be made for this greatest troop movement in history. The operation cost over $20,000,000,000, or approximately $5,000 per soldier.*

I ASSUMED the duties of this office on May 26, 1917, and, accompanied by a small staff, departed for Europe on board the S.S. "Baltic," May 28. We arrived at London on June 9 and, after spending some days in consultation with the British authorities, reached Paris on June 13.

Following the rather earnest appeals of the Allies for American troops, it was decided to send to France, at once, one complete division and nine newly organized regiments of Engineers. The division was formed of regular regiments, necessary transfers of officers and men were made, and recruits were assigned to increase these units to the required strength.

The offer by the Navy Department of one regiment of Marines to be reorganized as Infantry was accepted by the Secretary of War, and it became temporarily a part of the First Division. . . .

In the five months ending June 30, German submarines had accomplished the destruction of more than three and one-quarter million tons of Allied shipping. During three years Germany had seen practically all her offensives except Verdun crowned with success. Her battle lines were held on foreign soil and she had withstood every Allied attack since the Marne. The German general staff could now foresee the complete elimination of Russia, the possibility of defeating Italy before the end of the year and, finally, the campaign of 1918 against the French and British on the Western front which might terminate the war.

It can not be said that German hopes of final victory were extravagant, either as viewed at that time or as viewed in the light of history. Financial problems of the Allies were difficult, supplies were becoming exhausted and their armies had suffered tremendous losses. Discouragement existed not only among the civil population but throughout the armies as well. Such was the Allied morale that, although their superiority on the Western front during the last half of 1916 and during 1917 amounted to 20 per cent., only local attacks could be undertaken and their effect proved wholly insufficient against the German defense. Allied resources in man power at home were low and there was little prospect of materially increas-

ing their armed strength, even in the face of the probability of having practically the whole military strength of the Central Powers against them in the spring of 1918.

This was the state of affairs that existed when we entered the war. While our action gave the Allies much encouragement, yet this was temporary, and a review of conditions made it apparent that America must make a supreme material effort as soon as possible. After duly considering the tonnage possibilities I cabled the following to Washington on July 6, 1917: "Plans should contemplate sending over at least 1,000,000 men by next May." . . . To provide the organization for this purpose, a project for engineer services of the rear, including railways, was cabled to Washington August 5, 1917, followed on September 18, 1917, by a complete service of the rear project, which listed item by item the troops considered necessary for the Services of Supply.

Before developing plans for a line of communications it was necessary to decide upon the probable sector of the front for the eventual employment of a distinctive American force. Our mission was offensive and it was essential to make plans for striking the enemy where a definite military decision could be gained. . . .

To the east the great fortified district east of Verdun and around Metz menaced central France, protected the most exposed portion of the German line of communications, that between Metz and Sedan,

and covered the Briey iron region, from which the enemy obtained the greater part of the iron required for munitions and material. The coal fields east of Metz were also covered by these same defenses. A deep advance east of Metz, or the capture of the Briey region, by threatening the invasion of rich German territory in the Moselle Valley and the Saar Basin, thus curtailing her supply of coal or iron, would have a decisive effect in forcing a withdrawal of German troops from northern France. The military and economic situation of the enemy, therefore, indicated Lorraine as the field promising the most fruitful results for the employment of our armies. . . .

The problem confronting the American Expeditionary Forces was then to superimpose its rail communications on those of France where there would be the least possible disturbance to the arteries of supply of the two great Allied armies already in the field. This would require the utmost use of those lines of the existing French railroad system that could bear an added burden. Double-track railroad lines from the ports of the Loire and the Gironde Rivers unite at Bourges, running thence via Nevers, Dijon, and Neufchâteau, with lines radiating therefrom toward the right wing of the Allied front. It was estimated that these with the collateral lines available, after considerable improvement, could handle an additional 50,000 tons per day, required for an army of 2,000,000 men. . . .

In order to hinder the enemy's conquest of Russia and, if possible, prevent a German attack on Italy, or in the near east, the Allies sought to maintain the offensive on the Western front as far as their diminished strength and morale would permit. On June 7, 1917, the British took Messines, while a succession of operations known as the Third Battle of Ypres began on July 3, and terminated with the capture of the Passchendaele Ridge, November 6-10. The British attack at Cambrai is of special interest, since it was here that American troops (Eleventh Engineers) first participated in active fighting.

The French successfully attacked on a limited front near Verdun, capturing Mort Homme on August 20 and advancing their lines to La Forge Brook. In another offensive, begun on October 23, they gained considerable ground on Chemin des Dames Ridge. These French attacks were characterized by most careful preparation to insure success in order to improve the morale of their troops.

Notwithstanding these Allied attacks on the Western front, the immense gains by the German armies in the east, culminating at Riga on September 3, precipitated the collapse of Russia. The following month, the Austrians with German assistance surprised the Italians and broke through the lines at Caporetto, driving the Italian armies back to the Piave River, inflicting a loss of 300,000 men, 600,000 rifles, 3,000 guns, and enormous stores. This serious crisis compelled the withdrawal of ten French and

British divisions from the Western front to Italy. The German situation on all other theaters was so favorable that as early as November they began the movement of divisions toward the Western front. . . .

On December 31, 1917, there were 176,665 American troops in France and but one division had appeared on the front. Disappointment at the delay of the American effort soon began to develop. French and British authorities suggested the more rapid entry of our troops into the line and urged the amalgamation of our troops with their own, even insisting upon the curtailment of training to conform to the strict minimum of trench requirements they considered necessary.

My conclusion was that, although the morale of the German people and of the armies was better than it had been for two years, only an untoward combination of circumstances could give the enemy a decisive victory before American support as recommended could be made effective, provided the Allies secured unity of action. However, a situation might arise which would necessitate the temporary use of all American troops in the units of our Allies for the defensive, but nothing in the situation justified the relinquishment of our firm purpose to form our own Army under our own flag.

While the Germans were practicing for open warfare and concentrating their most aggressive personnel in shock divisions, the training of the Allies was still limited to trench warfare. As our troops were

being trained for open warfare, there was every reason why we could not allow them to be scattered among our Allies, even by divisions, much less as replacements, except by pressure of sheer necessity. Moreover, it was obvious that the lack of homogeneity would render these mixed divisions difficult to maneuver and almost certain to break up under stress of defeat, with the consequent mutual recrimination. Again, there was no doubt that the realization by the German people that independent American divisions, corps, or armies were in the field with determined purpose would be a severe blow to German morale and prestige.

It was also certain that an early appearance of the larger American units on the front would be most beneficial to the morale of the Allies themselves. Accordingly, the First Division, on January 19, 1918, took over a sector north of Toul; the Twenty-sixth Division went to the Soissons front early in February; the Forty-second Division entered the line near Luneville, February 21, and the Second Division near Verdun, March 18. Meanwhile, the First Army Corps Headquarters, Maj. Gen. Hunter Liggett, commanding, was organized at Neufchâteau on January 20, and the plan to create an independent American sector on the Lorraine front was taking shape.

This was the situation when the great German offensive was launched in 1918.

# PRESIDENT WILSON'S "FOURTEEN POINTS"

*From His Address to Congress*

*PRESIDENT WILSON, in an address to Congress, January 8, 1918, enunciated these fourteen points upon which the United States would agree to a peace. On the February 11 following he supplemented five points, also given here; and these nineteen points became the basis upon which peace was ultimately established on the defeat of the Central Powers.*

*Following the rejection by the Allies of a Papal appeal from Rome, during the preceding August, for both sides to end the war by mutual concessions, foregoing all claims for damages and agreeing to restore all territory, occurred the Brest-Litovsk Conference in December, 1917, to which the Austrian Prime Minister, Count Czernin, speaking for the Central Powers, invited the world to attend. Ignored by the Allies as a whole, because of its pro-German bias, the invitation called forth this response from the President of the United States.*

WE have entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible, unless they were corrected, and the world secured once for all against their recurrence.

What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in, and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own free life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world, as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very

clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us.

The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible one as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored; and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world

for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited

by indisputable Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

* * * * *

After all, the test of whether it is possible for either Government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent;

Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that—

Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment of compromise of claims amongst rival states; and—

Fourth, that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative, except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany.

# THE "BIG BERTHAS" BOMBARD PARIS

*Contemporary Press Report and That of General Rohne*

*WHILE the Allies were being pushed back by the Germans, in their great 1918 attack called the Kaiserbattle, on March 23 the Teutons sprang a surprise by bombarding Paris from a distance of nearly seventy miles. The feat was performed, as here described in a press dispatch and in a supplementary statement by General Rohne, a leading German artillery authority, by three of the longest range guns devised during the war.*

*Their most damaging projectile, fired on Good Friday, March 29, plunged through the roof of the Church of St. Gervais during services and killed almost a hundred people, mostly women and children. Among the few men slain was the Secretary of the Swiss Legation, the only Legation in Paris that was on speaking terms with Germany.*

*The sole object of the bombardment was terrorism. The "Big Berthas" (named after Bertha Krupp) were presently silenced by French gunfire.*

THIS date (Saturday, March 23) was marked by a new departure in warfare. Paris was startled by a heavy shell falling in the town at 7:30 a.m. It was followed by others at intervals of about 20 minutes for some few hours. The effects of the bombardment were entirely without military importance, the only results being some destruction of property and the killing and wounding of a number of harmless citizens, including many women and children. On the 24th, Palm Sunday, Paris was again shelled, and Good Friday was also singled out as an appropriate day for the work of destruction. On the latter date the churches of Paris would be filled with worshipers, and there would be a grand

opportunity for repeating on land the brave deed achieved in sinking the "Lusitania" on the sea. A church was struck, part of the roof blown in, with the result that 76 persons were killed and 90 wounded, of whom a large proportion were women and children. On March 30 the victims numbered 8 dead and 90 wounded, but with these two exceptions the casualties were limited to quite small numbers, rarely over one, for each shell fired. At the beginning of May the bombardment ceased for a time.

It did not take long to discover where the guns were stationed, and within a few hours from the time the bombardment began it was located by French aviators behind the St. Gobain Forest, not far from La Fère. A few days later the positions of two others were ascertained. All three gun emplacements were on the reverse slope of a wooded hill known as the Mont de Joie, between the Laon-La Fère railway and the Laon-La Fère road, where they were hidden by the trees. It was an outlying spur of the hill-mass of St. Gobain. A line drawn from Fourdrain to Couvron and Aumencourt would run through the center of the position of the three gun-pits arranged approximately in the form of an equilateral triangle, the apex of which pointed towards Paris. They were all well under the crest line. Each installment consisted of a concrete pit in the shape of a long and deep trench to which a line of railway ran back to the Laon-La Fère railway line. At the front end of each a concrete platform was constructed on which

the gun carriage rested. This was carefully covered by branches of trees which, combined with the neighboring wood, served to protect the position as much as was possible from view. When a big gun was fired a number of 17-cm. guns in its neighborhood were simultaneously let off so as to cover the sound of the larger explosion, and whenever the French aviators were seen approaching, the anti-aircraft guns were brought into action and volumes of smoke also discharged to render observation difficult. Except at the time of discharge the gun was not elevated, its long-chase being kept down to avoid detection. Accommodation for the gun crews was provided in a bomb-proof dugout, which was connected with the gun-pit by a deep trench.

The distance from the big guns to the French lines was about six miles; the French heavy guns were some two miles farther back. A range of eight miles is long for accurate practice, but on the fourth day (i.e., March 26) a shell fell into one of the gun cuttings and rendered the gun useless. It must be remembered that unless a shell dropped actually in the trench or on the gun it could not do much harm. Artillery fire and bombs from the air were continuously directed on the position.

It was not till May 3 that a very clear atmosphere allowed continuous observation. It was then seen that only one gun was in action and the concentrated fire of the French heavy guns would appear to have silenced it. From that day forward no shell

fell on Paris till May 27, by which time the gun had been repaired.

## ACCLAIMED IN GERMANY BY GENERAL ROHNE

THE huge "super-guns" used by us in the bombardment of Paris were one of our chief triumphs of the war. Had they been completed at an earlier stage, they could have been directed against England equally with France, and might well have proved the decisive factor in forcing a peace upon our foes. As it was, their destructive fire caused widespread panic in the French capital. Many thousands of people fled from Paris, and the party which was seeking for an immediate honorable peace became much stronger. The damage done to the French fortifications was not large; but the damage to the city itself was considerable, and the damage to the enemy morale was extreme.

These guns had a range of over seventy miles, gaining this enormous advance over all earlier cannon by the tremendous initial velocity of their discharge. The highest velocity previously imparted to a shell at the moment of its leaving the cannon muzzle did not reach 3,000 feet per second; the velocity attained by the new guns was 4,800 feet per second, an increase of over 60 per cent. The shell itself weighed 330 pounds, a light weight in comparison with some which have been used in shorter guns;

but 330 pounds of concentrated explosives is quite sufficient to work untold destruction. To this velocity of flight, we added a high angle of fire, with the result that the projectile soared high above the lower levels of the atmosphere, and found at the top of the curve of its flight so little air-resistance that it was practically traveling in a vacuum. This explains the length of its flight; and when it fell, the increasing speed generated by the height of the fall, gave it a weight and power of destruction that made it as destructive as would have been a much larger, slower shell.

# FOCH GIVEN THE SUPREME COMMAND

*From General Pershing's Official Report of His Offer to Foch and Its Consequences*

*FIRST of these historic documents is the note of Pershing to Foch, dated at Bombon, March 28, 1918, offering to subordinate the American forces to the French command in fighting what is known as the Kaiser-battle, or Battles of the Somme, of the Lys and of the Second Aisne-Marne—the most tremendous contact of the war. At the time, the British line was breaking and greater coördination on the part of the Allies was imperative. Pershing led the way. Foch was duly commissioned Commander-in-Chief on April 3.*

*His choice was dictated by his great military ability and character. Foch was the George Washington of the Allies, the one general who had the confidence of all armies and all governments. It was to him rather than to France that the Allies yielded precedence. Following the initial note of Pershing to Foch is an extract from General Pershing's report of September, 1919.*

I HAVE come to tell you that the American people will hold it a high honor that their troops should take part in the present battle. I ask you to permit this in my name and in theirs. At the present moment there is only one thing to do, to fight. Infantry, artillery, aëroplanes, all that I have I put at your disposal —do what you like with them. More will come. In fact, all that may be necessary. I have come expressly to tell you that the American people will be proud to take part in this, the greatest and most striking battle of history.

* * * * *

When, on March 21, 1918, the German army on the western front began its series of offensives, it was by far the most formidable force the world had ever seen. In fighting men and guns it had a great superiority, but this was of less importance than the advantage in morale, in experience, in training for mobile warfare, and in unity of command. Ever since the collapse of the Russian armies and the crisis on the Italian front in the fall of 1917, German armies were being assembled and trained for the great campaign which was to end the war before America's effort could be brought to bear. Germany's best troops, her most successful generals, and all the experience gained in three years of war were mobilized for the supreme effort.

The first blow fell on the right of the British armies, including the junction of the British and French forces. Only the prompt coöperation of the French and British General Headquarters stemmed the tide. The reason for this objective was obvious and strikingly illustrated the necessity for having some one with sufficient authority over all the Allied armies to meet such an emergency. The lack of complete coöperation among the Allies on the western front had been appreciated, and the question of preparation to meet a crisis had already received attention by the Supreme War Council. A plan had been adopted by which each of the Allies would furnish a certain number of divisions for a general reserve, to be under the direction of the military repre-

sentatives of the Supreme War Council, of which General Foch was then the senior member. But when the time came to meet the German offensive in March these reserves were not found available and the plan failed.

This situation resulted in a conference for the immediate consideration of the question of having an Allied Commander-in-Chief. After much discussion, during which my view favoring such action was clearly stated, an agreement was reached and General Foch was selected. His appointment as such was made April 3, and was approved for the United States by the President on April 16. The terms of the agreement under which General Foch exercised his authority were as follows:

Bouvais, April 3, 1918.

General Foch is charged by the British, French and American Governments with the coördination of the action of the Allied armies on the western front; to this end there is conferred on him all the powers necessary for its effective realization. To the same end, the British, French and American Governments confide in General Foch the strategic direction of military operations.

The Commanders-in-Chief of the British, French and American armies will exercise to the fullest extent the tactical direction of their armies. Each Commander-in-Chief will have the right to appeal to his Government, if in

his opinion his army is placed in danger by the instructions received from General Foch.

(Signed)
G. CLEMENCEAU
PETAIN
F. FOCH
LLOYD GEORGE
D. HAIG, F. M.
HENRY WILSON,
General, 3, 4, 18.
TASKER H. BLISS,
General and Chief of Staff.
JOHN J. PERSHING,
General, U. S. A.

# BRITAIN'S BACK TO THE WALL

*Order of Sir Douglas Haig*

*THE British Commander-in-Chief made this personal appeal to his troops on April 11, 1918, at the most critical moment in the second stage of the Kaiserbattle, fought in the Lys Valley, just south of Ypres. For the Allies it was perhaps the darkest hour of the war.*

*As General Haig says, three weeks previously the Germans had begun their colossal attack that crumpled the British Fifth Army by the weight of sixty-four divisions against nineteen. His appeal was not in vain. The British line stiffened. Foch sent a French army to their aid, and eventually the German advance was checked.*

*Small forces of Americans took part in this battle and so acquitted themselves as to merit special mention in the official dispatches of Sir Douglas Haig.*

*Buchan, the historian, says of this battle, "It all but destroyed the British army; but it saved the Allies' front, and in the long run gave them the victory." The Americans were coming.*

THREE weeks ago today the enemy began his terrific attacks against us on a fifty-mile front. His objects are to separate us from the French, to take the Channel ports, and to destroy the British army.

In spite of throwing already 106 divisions into the battle, and enduring the most reckless sacrifice of human life, he has yet made little progress toward his goals.

We owe this to the determined fighting and self-sacrifice of our troops. Words fail me to express the admiration which I feel for the splendid resistance offered by all ranks of our army under the most trying circumstances.

Many among us now are tired. To those I will say that victory will belong to the side which holds

out the longest. The French army is moving rapidly and in great force to our support. There is no other course open to us but to fight it out.

Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us might fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment.

# THE LIBERTY LOAN ARMY

*By Guy Emerson, a Director of the Government Loan Organization*

*IT was during the second Kaiserbattle of the Lys, April, 1918, that the Third Liberty Loan drive was made in the United States, as here recounted by the spokesman of the Government. It was put before the public on the anniversary of our entrance into the war, and the fact that the American soldiers were in the trenches brought the war closer home and made the success of the third loan drive a foregone conclusion. Aiming for $3,000,000,000, it yielded $4,170,069,650 from 17,000,000 men, women and children.*

*As here stated, in reviewing the work of the Liberty Loan Army, besides that of the American forces in the field and at sea, "The enemy understood the futility of trying to defeat a people that enlisted against him 22,777,680 (loan subscribers) at home, 4,000,000 (soldiers) in the field and 300,000 (sailors) on the water."*

OUR army was our first line in the war against Germany. Our second line of offense and defense was the navy, and behind both stood another line without which neither the army nor the navy could have "carried on." This third force was the greatest unit ever marshalled in the history of this or any other country—the Liberty Loan Army. Before a man in the United States uniform entered a trench, before the first depth bomb had been dropped on a U-boat, this army, which finally carried a roster of 22,777,680 names, had entered the war.

Think of it! One person in every five in the immense population was in the war!

True, their contribution to the eventual triumph of our arms was measured in dollars while that of the

men at the front or on the seas was in lives or limbs. Yet it is a fact that dollars were as powerful relatively as men in bringing the Boche to bay.

Various causes have been given to account for the startlingly sudden collapse of the Kaiser's army. Some say that the Allies' superior military strategy brought it to its knees. Others contend that success against the U-boats broke it down. Both are partly right, for each helped to undermine the German morale. But however great the contribution of both was, it is safe to say that the front presented by the Liberty Loan Army was a vital factor. The belated German consciousness that the United States as a whole was in the war, as tangibly represented in the strength of the Liberty Loan Army, helped to shatter the Germans' will to victory. As much as the men in khaki or in blue, this gigantic unit bore in upon his mind as an unyielding opponent. He understood the futility of trying to defeat a people that enlisted against him to the number of 22,777,680 at home, 4,000,000 in the field and 300,000 on the water.

There is another angle to this important element of morale. In inverse ratio to the weakening of the spirit of the Germans against this resistless body there came a daily strengthening of the morale of our own men and those of the Allies through this manifestation at home. Where there are two opposing wills to victory in the field, the one that has the greater backing at home is certain to overwhelm the other.

It was not the dollar that won the war, it was the

spirit behind the dollar. Before Prince Max asked for the armistice he had learned that $9,978,835,800 had been subscribed in this country toward his defeat. It is natural to assume that this fact did not impress him so much as the related fact that millions of persons had participated in the subscription.

Up to the end of the Fourth Loan, which coincided with the negotiations for the Armistice, $16,971,-909,050 had been paid in and this helped to save life to an extent that we can only imagine. It was the confident expectation when the Americans halted the German onslaught at Château-Thierry that the end of the war would come in the following spring. None dared to hope that it would come before Christmas. When the crash came in November, even the Allied commanders were bewildered by its suddenness. Had the war been prolonged to the spring of 1919, it is certain that we would have paid a large toll in lives. Some have estimated that 100,000 more of our young men would have been sacrificed. That the war did not drag along for six months more may be ascribed in part to the effect that the demonstrated loyalty of the Liberty Loan Army had upon German morale.

# AMERICAN TROOPS TAKE CANTIGNY

*From General Pershing's Report*

*IN this first independent American attack, May 28, 1918, the 1st Division of the A. E. F. took the village of Cantigny in forty minutes, consolidated it into an American position and held it against repeated artillery and infantry counter-assaults. It had not been planned originally to have American troops engage the enemy in force until 1919, but the Allies were so hard pressed that the French Government was on the eve of abandoning Paris again. Nearly a million citizens fled from the city during May and June.*

*The violent effort of the Germans to re-take Cantigny was dictated by the fact that this was the Americans' first appearance as a unit and the enemy did not relish a defeat. The effect of Cantigny upon our Allies was electrifying. Foch no longer questioned the power lurking in the American attack and immediately began entrenching our troops, of which only 300,000 were then in France.*

ON March 21 [1918] approximately 300,000 American troops had reached France. Four combat divisions, equivalent in strength to eight French or British divisions, were available—the 1st and 2d then in line, and the 26th and 42d just withdrawn from line after one month's trench warfare training. The last two divisions at once began taking over quiet sectors to release divisions for the battle; the 26th relieved the 1st Division, which was sent to northwest of Paris in reserve; the 42d relieved two French divisions from quiet sectors. In addition to these troops, one regiment of the 93d Division was with the French in the Argonne, the 41st Depot Division was in the

Service of Supply, and three divisions (3d, 32d and 5th) were arriving.

On 25 April the 1st Division relieved two French divisions on the front near Montdidier and on May 28 captured the important observation stations on the heights of Cantigny with splendid dash. French artillery, aviation, tanks and flame throwers aided in the attack, but most of this French assistance was withdrawn before the completion of the operation, in order to meet the enemy's new offensive launched May 27 toward Château-Thierry. The enemy reaction against our troops at Cantigny was extremely violent and apparently he was determined at all costs to counteract the most excellent effect the American success had produced. For three days his guns of all calibers were concentrated on our new position and counter-attack succeeded counter-attack. The desperate efforts of the Germans gave the fighting at Cantigny a seeming tactical importance entirely out of proportion to the numbers involved.

Of the three divisions arriving in France when the first German offensive began, the 32d, intended for replacements, had been temporarily employed in the Service of Supply to meet a shortage of personnel, but the critical situation caused it to be reassembled, and by May 21 it was entering the line in the Vosges. At this time the 5th Division, though still incomplete, was also ordered into the line in the same region. The 3d Division was assembling in its training area and the 3d Corps staff had just been organized to

administer these three divisions. In addition to the eight divisions already mentioned, the 28th and 77th had arrived in the British area and the 4th, 27th, 13th, 33d, and 35th and 82d were arriving there. Following the agreements as to British shipping, our troops came so rapidly that by the end of May we had a force of 600,000 in France.

The third German offensive, on May 27, against the French on the Aisne, soon developed a desperate situation for the Allies. The 2d Division, then in reserve northwest of Paris and preparing to relieve the 1st Division, was hastily diverted to the vicinity of the Meaux on May 31, and, early on the morning of June 1, was deployed across the Château-Thierry-Paris road near Montreuil-aux-Lions in a gap in the French line, where it stopped the German advance on Paris. At the same time the partially trained 3d Division was placed at French disposal to hold the crossings of the Marne, and its motorized machine-gun battalion succeeded in reaching Château-Thierry in time to assist in successfully defending that river crossing.

The enemy having been halted, the 2d Division commenced a series of vigorous attacks on June 4, which resulted in the capture of Belleau Woods after very severe fighting. The village of Bouresches was taken soon after, and on July 1 Vaux was captured. In these operations the 2d Division met with most desperate resistance by Germany's best troops.

# THE LOSS OF THE "PRESIDENT LINCOLN"

*By Chaplain G. C. Whimsett, U. S. N.*

*ALTHOUGH more than two million American soldiers were convoyed to Europe and not a single eastbound transport under American escort was sunk by enemy submarines, several westbound ships, including the "President Lincoln," the torpedoing and sinking of which, May 31, 1918, is here described by one of the survivors, were not so fortunate. The reason was that the transports returning westward, almost empty, did not have the same protection as the loaded ones going eastward, owing to an insufficiency of cruisers and destroyers.*

*Attacked without warning, and struck by three torpedoes, the ship, which was originally German owned, sank 18 minutes after she was first hit. Four officers and 23 men were lost. More than 700 survivors were picked up by American destroyers. Some of the other torpedoed transports, such as the "Finland" and "Mount Vernon," were able to make their way back to French ports, with no lives lost.*

ON the morning of May 30, 1918, the "President Lincoln," on her fifth return trip, was steaming at full speed in company with the "Ryndam," "Susquehanna" and "Antigone." At about 8:57 a.m., when we were commencing to zigzag, a torpedo wake was sighted about 600 yards to the port beam, by persons on the port side of the ship, several of whom called to the bridge. The order "hard right rudder" was given. Before the ship could respond to the motion of the steersman, an explosion took place, which shook and raised the ship out of the water. Before the concussion of the explosion was over, another took place, seemingly in the same part of the ship.

General alarm was sounded throughout the ship and all hastened to their "abandon ship" stations. Before most of them could get there, however, still a third explosion took place, well aft of the first two and on the port side. It was afterwards learned that the first two torpedoes had hit the ship just aft of the bridge, one about on the level of the water and the other about 15 feet below, both hitting in the coal bunkers, at which place men were engaged at the time in shifting coal from one bunker to another. The third explosion hit just aft of the engine room.

Immediately following these explosions, the ship took a heavy list to port. All guns began firing, for the purpose of keeping the submarine below, although no periscope was sighted. The other three ships which accompanied us sped away, soon disappearing over the horizon.

Slowly the ship righted herself on an even keel, though gradually sinking, and it was thought for a time that she might be saved. Therefore word was not passed to abandon the ship, but to stand by prepared.

In the meantime all safety valves had been opened; working parties had gone throughout the ship to estimate the damage; men wounded in the explosions had been brought to the sick bay and given what treatment was possible; and the army sick, of whom we had 120, were prepared for the open boats. At

9:10 the captain, by a motion of his hand, signalled all to abandon ship.

The ship was equipped with fourteen lifeboats, two of which were destroyed in the explosion, and two were smashed in lowering. The other ten were safely lowered and shoved off, taking with them all sick and all army passengers. The next step was the throwing over of the life-rafts, which was hurriedly done, then the jumping into the water of the men who remained on board. This was all accomplished within five or six minutes at the most. All the time the forward guns kept up an incessant firing, the after guns by this time being under water.

At 9:15 the ship gave a sudden lurch and sank, stern first, just 18 minutes after she was first hit.

The men who had jumped in the water climbed on rafts and the boats took on their full capacity. At about 10 o'clock when every one was feeling more or less comfortable and waiting for some one to come and pick us up, we sighted what was thought to be a sail on the horizon. We watched it, as it came closer, and finally made it out to be a submarine. It was hard to express the feeling that existed upon discovering this submarine. Every one had settled back, feeling that the worst was over, and tranquilly waiting to be rescued. To have this "sea-louse" come upon us, to add to our misery, was enough to "get any one's goat." As the submarine came closer we saw that she had on her bow a large gun, trained on us. There was also a smaller gun on her stern.

These guns were variously estimated to be of 6- and 4-inch caliber, respectively. The submarine circled us several times, with the guns trained on us, and the gun crews were continuously changing the loads, as if to tantalize and intimidate us. The submarine commander called out, in plain English, for our captain, but fortunately the captain and other officers had removed their blouses and substituted sailors' jumpers, the officers in the boats taking the oars. The answer was given back that the captain had been last seen on the ship.

For two long, anxious hours the submarine remained with us, continuously searching for the captain, perhaps with the object of sinking another ship which might be coming up to our aid.

At about 12 o'clock the submarine took aboard two of the sailors, leading them both below. These men later stated that they had been given coffee, and one of them said that he had seen on the submarine's bulkhead a list of five ships namely: the "Leviathan," "Agamemnon," "Mount Vernon," "President Grant" and "President Lincoln," all ex-German passenger liners. As he was looking at this list, a German sailor scratched off the name of the "President Lincoln" and said, "Now we have but four more to get." Needless to say, that list was never changed.

After the return of these men, Lieutenant Isaacs was taken aboard the submarine and retained as a prisoner. This being done the submarine left us, remaining on the surface, as she proceeded on her way.

At about 3:30 in the afternoon, she paid us another unsociable visit, repeating her maneuvers of circling and loading and training guns on us until 5:30 when she left us for good.

As dusk came, it was seen that the rafts and boats were by this time widely scattered, and it was evident that if something were not done by morning they would be completely separated. Therefore, the executive officer of the ship took charge of the ten lifeboats, tied all rafts together, and they in turn were tied to the lifeboats. This task was not completed until about 9 o'clock. The leading boat lit a kerosene lamp and all stood by and patiently waited.

At 11 o'clock rockets were sighted in the distance and then a message was flashed from the destroyer —for such it proved to be—to extinguish all our lights. Coming closer, we saw it to be a destroyer, the U. S. S. "Warrington." After about fourteen long hours, which seemed weeks, of tumbling and floating around in the vast ocean, the sight of this destroyer was enough to make us want to rise up from our cramped-up positions and give one long, tremendous, heart-rending, gladsome cheer, but such a demonstration would have interfered with the signalling and conversation with the destroyer. It signalled us that it would take aboard our sick, and within the next hour 550 of the more than 700 survivors were transferred to the "Warrington." Those who remained waited patiently until 3 o'clock in the

morning, when the second destroyer, the U. S. S. "Smith," arrived and took us all aboard. Both destroyers waited until morning to see if any occupants of rafts or boats had been overlooked, and finding none, at daybreak proceeded to Brest, arriving there shortly after noon on June 2. Here the entire crew and officers were placed on board the U. S. S. "Great Northern" and returned to the States, there to be refitted and returned to sea again.

Four officers and twenty-three men were lost when the "President Lincoln" was torpedoed and sunk.

# HOLDING THE GERMANS AT CHÂTEAU-THIERRY

*British Press Report and a French Tribute*

*FOLLOWING the first contact with the enemy at Cantigny, on May 31, 1918 the American Second Division, which included a brigade of marines, was deployed across the Château-Thierry-Paris road in a gap in the French line where, General Pershing reports, "It stopped the German advance on Paris." Opposed to the Americans were the best troops the Germans had at their command. The action lasted until July 1.*

*This British press dispatch, dated June 5, recounts the initial clash between the Americans and Germans for possession of Château-Thierry. The character of the fighting along the Marne at this time is indicated by the statement that, with 8,000 men engaged, the Marine Corps casualties numbered 69 officers and 1,531 men dead and 78 officers and 2,435 men wounded.*

*Appended is the order of General Degoutte complimenting the Marines for their work at Château-Thierry and subsequently at Belleau Wood.*

ON May 31, when the Germans were already in the outskirts of Château-Thierry, an American machine-gun unit was hurried thither in motor lorries. Château-Thierry lies on both banks of the Marne, which is spanned by a big bridge. To the northward a canal runs parallel with the river and is crossed by a smaller bridge.

The Americans had scarcely reached their quarters when news was received that the Germans had broken into the northern part of Château-Thierry, having made their way through the gap they had driven in our lines to the left of the town and then pouring along the streets to the bridge, intending to establish themselves on the south bank and capture the town.

The American machine gunners and French colonials were thrown into Château-Thierry together. The Americans immediately took over the defense of the river bank, especially the approaches to the bridge. Fighting with their habitual courage and using their guns with an accuracy which won the highest encomiums from the French, they brought the enemy to a standstill.

Already wavering under the American fire, the Germans were counter-attacked by the French colonials and driven from the town. They returned to the attack the next night and under cover of darkness crept into the town along the river bank and began to work their way through the streets, toward the main bridge. At the same moment a tremendous artillery bombardment was opened upon the southern half of the town.

When within range of the machine guns the Germans advanced under the cover of clouds of thick white smoke from smoke bombs, in order to baffle the aim of the American gunners. A surprise, however, was in store for them. They were already crossing the bridge, evidently believing themselves masters of both banks, when a thunderous explosion blew the center of the bridge and a number of Germans with it into the river. Those [about 100] who reached the southern bank were captured.

In this battle in the streets, and again at night, the young American soldiers showed a courage and determination which aroused the admiration of their

French colonial comrades. With their machine guns they covered the withdrawal of troops across the bridge before its destruction, and although under severe fire themselves, kept all the approaches to the bank under a rain of bullets which nullified all the subsequent efforts of the enemy to cross the river. Every attempt of the Germans to elude the vigilance of the Americans resulted in disaster.

During the last two days the enemy has renounced the occupation of the northern part of Château-Thierry, which the American machine guns have made untenable. . . . Against their casualties the Americans can set a much greater loss inflicted by their bullets on the enemy. They have borne their full part in what a French staff officer well qualified to judge described as one of the finest feats of the war.

* * * * *

Army Headquarters, June 30, 1918.

In view of the brilliant conduct of the Fourth Brigade of the Second United States Division, which in a spirited fight took Bouresches and the important strong point of Bois de Belleau, stubbornly defended by a large enemy force, the General commanding the Sixth Army orders that henceforth, in all official papers, the Bois de Belleau shall be named "Bois de la Brigade de Marine."

DIVISION GENERAL DÉGOUTTE,
Commanding Sixth Army.

# THE LAST GERMAN ATTACK IS HALTED

*From General Pershing's Report*

*IN this succinct report of a most important phase of the Second Battle of the Marne, General Pershing states that the German High Command had encouraged their armies to believe that the July 15, 1918, attack, here referred to, would end the war with a German peace. It was termed the "Friedensturm" or Peace Assault. By that evening, however, the German attack was brought to a standstill by the resistance of the French and American troops from the Marne to the Vesle.*

*Eight American divisions of 30,000 men each were engaged during the final great German attack (July 15-17) and the Allied counter-attack (July 18-August 6). One American regiment, the 38th of the Third Division, was notably conspicuous in holding back virtually two whole enemy divisions, though the French on both sides had retired and left its flanks exposed. "We kill or get killed," was a saying reported by the Germans as coming from their early American prisoners.*

ON July 15, the date of the last German offensive, the 1st, 2d, 3d and 26th Divisions were on the Château-Thierry front with the 4th and 28th in support, some small units of the last two divisions gaining front-line experience with our troops or with the French; the 42d Division was in support of the French east of Rheims, and four colored regiments were with the French in the Argonne. On the Alsace-Lorraine front we had five divisions in line with the French. Five were with the British army, three having elements in the line. In our training areas four divisions were assembled and four were in the process of arrival.

The Marne salient was inherently weak and offered an opportunity for a counter-offensive that was obvious.

If successful, such an operation would afford immediate relief to the Allied defense, would remove the threat against Paris and free the Paris-Nancy Railroad. But, more important than all else, it would restore the morale of the Allies and remove the profound depression and fear then existing. Up to this time our units had been put in here and there at critical points as emergency troops to stop the terrific German advance. In every trial, whether on the defensive or offensive, they had proved themselves equal to any troops in Europe. As early as June 23 and again on July 10 at Bombon, I had very strongly urged that our best divisions be concentrated under American command, if possible, for use as a striking force against the Marne salient. Although the prevailing view among the Allies was that American units were suitable only for the defensive, and that at all events they could be used to better advantage under Allied command, the suggestion was accepted in principle, and my estimate of their offensive fighting qualities was soon put to the test.

The enemy had encouraged his soldiers to believe that the July 15 attack would conclude the war with a German peace. Although he made elaborate plans for the operation, he failed to conceal fully his intentions, and the front of attack was suspected at least

one week ahead. On the Champagne front the actual hour for the assault was known and the enemy was checked with heavy losses. The 42d Division entered the line near Somme Py immediately, and five of its infantry battalions and all its artillery became engaged. Southwest of Rheims and along the Marne to the east of Château-Thierry the Germans were at first somewhat successful, a penetration of eight kilometers beyond the river being effected against the French immediately to the right of our 3d Division. The following quotation from the report of the commanding general, 3d Division, gives the result of the fighting on his front:

"Although the rush of the German troops overwhelmed some of the front-line positions, causing the infantry and machine-gun companies to suffer, in some cases a 50 per cent. loss, no German soldier crossed the road from Fossoy to Crezancy, except as a prisoner of war, and by noon of the following day (July 16) there were no Germans in the foreground of the 3d Division sector except the dead."

On this occasion a single regiment of the 3d Division wrote one of the most brilliant pages in our military annals. It prevented the crossing at certain points on its front, while on either flank the Germans who had gained a footing pressed forward. Our men, firing in three directions, met the German attacks with counter-attacks at critical points and succeeded in throwing two German divisions into complete confusion, capturing 600 prisoners.

The selection by the Germans of the Champagne sector and the eastern and southern faces of the Marne pocket on which to make their offensive was fortunate for the Allies, as it favored the launching of their counter-attack already planned. There were now over 1,200,000 American troops in France, which provided a considerable force of reserves. Every American division with any sort of training was made available for use in a counter-offensive.

# FOCH LAUNCHES HIS GREAT COUNTER-ATTACK

*By Captain Shipley Thomas, 26th Infantry, U. S. A.*

*THIS "boldest stroke of the war," begun by Marshal Foch on July 18, 1918, a month before he was made a Marshal of France and after the failure of the Germans in their last desperate drive toward Paris, is thus described by Captain Thomas, in his "History of the A. E. F.," published by George H. Doran Company.*

*The risk the Allies took was tremendous, the enemy still having a marked superiority in men and guns, but it was an opportunity that Pershing grasped and urged upon the French generalissimo, with an offer of eight American divisions. Two of them, the First and Second, were with the Tenth French Army that was hurled against the foe just south of Soissons. The Germans were "buried" under this surprise attack, ending with the capture of Soissons.*

*General Pershing reported of his combat troops, "In every trial, defensive or offensive, they have proved themselves equal to any troops in Europe."*

AT 4:35 a.m. [July 18, 1918] the stillness of the night was rent with one terrific crash, as every Allied gun from the Aisne to Château-Thierry roared with the rolling barrage, and the infantry went over. This was the hour for which every member of the 1st Division had waited so patiently through the grim months of maneuver and trench warfare, for here now, man to man, they were to prove themselves in attack, and to show to all the world that American troops had entered at last on the real mission of hurling back the Germans.

Every step forward was a yard snatched away from the enemy, where yards counted most, for they were closing the neck of a salient.

To General Bullard his promotion had come too soon. He now commanded the Third American Army Corps, and the change had come on the very day before his 1st Division, which he had trained and watched develop under his careful guidance, was to make the attack which would print its name in letters of gold throughout the ages. Brigadier General Charles P. Summerall, who had so efficiently commanded the 1st Field Artillery Brigade of the 1st Division was that night made Division Commander. . . .

There were three objectives laid out in the orders for the attack; other orders were to follow for the attacks on the succeeding days. It was an anxious moment, that moment of the jump-off, for to every one along the whole battle line the question came—how much artillery have the Germans massed behind this sector? The barrage started forward, bursting ahead of the infantry and then up went the rockets and flares from the German front lines calling for their own artillery to put down a protective barrage. On went the Allied barrage and behind it the waves of infantry of the leading battalions. A minute later came the German artillery reply, but it was not strong; it was apparent that they did not have many guns on this front. Forward swung the Allies on a five-mile front, following their barrage, but that day the barrage was not as close protection as it had been at Cantigny, for the gunners did not dare to lay their

fire too close to the infantry since they had not fired a single registration shot and were firing solely by map. This gave the Germans time, after our barrage had passed them, to come up and man their machine guns before our infantry came upon them. The Allies passed the front lines without any check. There were no trenches except little shell holes, there was no wire, the front line was not well organized. Evidently the Germans in their two weeks' occupancy of this line had not thought it worth while to dig in, probably expecting to move on toward Paris almost any day.

The Germans certainly had put into practice all the theories of open warfare. That first line was nothing more than an outpost line, thinly held and meant only to check an advance long enough to warn the second line, and get them out of their dugouts and into the positions. But this time there had been no warning. There was no Allied artillery preparation during which the German troops in the second line could be led stoically out of the dugouts and into their fire positions. Also there was no warning from the higher staff that an attack was expected. The Germans were taken completely by surprise. And the Allied soldiers who were making the attack that morning were the first to realize it. The Germans had been outwitted and it would be easy going for the Allies, until the Germans got themselves together and recovered from their surprise. Accordingly to every man it came that he must push on at top speed,

that no machine-gun nest which got into action between our barrage and our infantry should be allowed to check that rush, and that the infantry must keep up behind the barrage as close as they could, to prevent this.

Then came the second German defensive line, and that was almost as easy as the first had been. The defenders were few and far between. What machine guns there were in action were silenced by the swift rush the Allied soldiers made to stop them. Sweeping ever forward went the line. Meanwhile the second wave of the leading battalion stopped on the second German line to mop it up. They were well repaid for their pains. That second line was full of Germans in dugouts who had not been notified in time to get out to their positions before the Allied waves were upon them. The moppers-up took a heavy toll of them—in German prisoners—ten here, fifteen there, fifty in a cellar, a hundred in that cave, so that the score soon ran into the thousands. Usually they came out without any fuss on hearing that unmistakable challenge of the mopper-up. But there was one cave that the leading battalion of the 26th Infantry passed over out of which shots kept coming. The second wave tried to surround the cave and this drew machine-gun firing. Try as they might, no one could get within range of the mouth without drawing a great deal of attention. This was holding up the second wave when one of the big French tanks came along. The officer sent word

to the tank to come over and help clean out the cave and in a few minutes the tank was waddling up to the mouth like a huge turtle, while the machine-gun bullets bounced off its thick sides. Down into the mouth of the cave it went firing all its guns. All was silent for a moment, and then the tank backed out, and following it came a column of German infantry, their hands held up over their heads. Six hundred prisoners including a colonel came out of the cave, and a shame-faced lot they were to be caught in a hole like that. But it was still more strange to see the consternation on their faces when they saw the Americans. The surprise of that attack was written on the face of every one of those prisoners, and with it was the dread lest the stories be true that the Americans killed all the prisoners they took.

By 5:35 a.m., one hour after the attack began, the assaulting lines were on their "First Objective," that blue line on the official map where the barrage was to stand for so many minutes, while the assaulting waves were reorganized, the front rank filled up, while the moppers-up were busy cleaning out the German second position. But this time the infantry did not have to "dig in." Very soon the barrage, which was bursting out in front while the heavies were pounding the next line of German resistance, would move on and with it would go the infantry. The Allies had progressed well in that first hour. The 1st (Regular) Division had swung swiftly across that flat plateau, meeting very little resistance, and the Second

(Regular and Marine), when it came out of the wood, after its final rush to get in the line, found that it was ahead of the French division on its right and left, and the whole line was moving along as per schedule.

Then the barrage started forward again. The Allied guns were shooting at almost their extreme range now, and the barrage was placed well ahead of the infantry, for the zone of dispersion increases with the range. Then, too, some batteries were not firing, for the Allied artillery was now moving forward, a battery at a time and this thinned down the barrage. Still, the advancing waves pressed on, and now the tanks were there to help them. As soon as a German machine-gun nest opened its fire, word was sent to the nearest tank and it headed for the nest and began firing its sawed-off 75-mm. gun and all its machine guns, and the Allied infantry rushed the spot as soon as the German fire slackened. The German resistance was stiffening but was not yet fully organized. This the attacking troops realized, and they realized also that speed and still more speed would be the salvation of that day. Every yard they went forward meant a yard lost to the Germans, but more than that, every minute that they lost meant stiffer resistance on the German third line which they were approaching. It was the first great attack for the Americans, and to both the French and the Americans there was that feeling that they had been selected from all the Allied strength to make this decisive

blow which, as the news spread, would cheer the hearts of millions in all the Allied countries, who the day before were silently wondering when Paris would fall. To be the picked troops, champions of all the Allies, and to be fighting alongside the famous 1st Moroccan Division with its Foreign Legion, was incentive enough to those officers and men of the 1st and 2nd Divisions, from the Regular Army and the Marine Corps, to bring out the greatest qualities of heroism in pushing the line forward. . . .

But not alone to the infantry is the credit for that swift advance due. The field artillery of those three divisions also did heroic work in that attack. Heedless of personal danger, they limbered up the guns and took them forward along the shell-swept roads, across the fields on which the German artillery was beating and went into battery behind the infantry. As soon as the attack began, all attempts at screening of movements, all camouflage for batteries was abandoned. Speed in getting the guns forward so that the infantry should have all the protection that it was possible to give them, speed in bringing up caisson after caisson of ammunition so that those guns should never be silent, and speed in running forward observation officers with telephones, were the watchwords with the artillery that day. The batteries fired from each position until the range became too great; then one by one they limbered up, and went forward at a gallop to the place where the battalion commander, coolly sitting his horse on that

shell-torn field, gave them orders to put the battery into action. Swiftly the guns were unlimbered despite the hail of German machine-gun bullets and high explosive; and the horses were scarcely led away before the guns were in action, so perfect was the teamwork of gunners and drivers. The roads, once the attack started, were a mass of transports moving forward. Every road out of the forest was choked with the trains of a division, while through them all galloped the artillery. It was once more "Forward the Guns," that old cry of open warfare almost forgotten in the three years of trench warfare. To see the guns go forward is a sure sign of victory.

The other sure sign of victory was the stream of walking wounded and the prisoners moving back across the plain in little groups slowly finding their way to the rear, the wounded acting as guards for the prisoners, and the prisoners supporting the wounded to the aid station. Meanwhile the stretcher-bearers followed the advancing waves in search of the more seriously wounded, and as they found them they carried them to the nearest road where in groups on litters, or on blankets over rifles, they waited the first caisson, slat wagon, or empty ambulance going to the rear. And for many it was a long wait that day. There had been no time to arrange for extra ambulances, and the division had to use its ambulances not only to gather the wounded forward, but also to transport them back to the railroad where the train lay to take them to southern France. But,

though the delays were long, there was never a murmur of protest from those white, drawn faces of the wounded as they lay there in the hot glare of the July sun on the flat plateau.

By noon of the first day, the Allies had advanced across that great plateau, half the distance to Soissons. Apparently the German defenders had been caught unawares, and the Allied infantry had broken through. Everywhere the line was advancing swiftly, and meeting practically no resistance. It was just possible that the break through had been complete. If so, the entire German garrison of this sector had either been captured or killed. The total tally of prisoners seemed to warrant this assumption. They came pouring in to the divisional headquarters in great columns, and as the divisions had flashed back the news, the conviction grew that the Allies had pierced the main battle front. If this were the case, then here was the great opportunity for cavalry to go in and roll up the flanks. Therefore, General Mangin decided to send in his army reserves, two regiments of Cuirassiers, the élite of the French cavalry. One regiment was to charge through the advancing lines of the 1st Division, while the other went similarly through the 2nd Division.

Meanwhile the infantry, with the exception of the extreme flanks, had progressed to the line of the last objective for that day. On this line they halted, under order, while the artillery was being moved up to support them. Immediately upon halting, the lines

were organized, units regrouped, and the front echeloned in depth, to prevent counter-attack. In other words, as soon as the final line for the day was reached, the advancing infantry waves halted. Under orders the men immediately lay down, while the officers and sergeants regrouped those men about them. An outpost line was immediately sent forward a few hundred yards, consisting of a few men with automatic rifles, while the remainder of the attacking troops were formed in two main defensive lines, several hundred yards apart. The machine guns were put in position in the rearmost of these lines.

This was the situation, late in the afternoon of the first day of the attack. By a series of most gallant infantry charges, half of the great plateau towards Soissons had been cleared of practically all the German defenders, and the infantry had halted and was echeloned in depth. The extreme flanks were still heavily engaged, but in the center it seemed as though the infantry had broken through. While the artillery was moving forward at a gallop, there came moving majestically out of the forest of Retz, two columns of splendid cavalry.

It was one of the most inspiring sights of the war. On they came, at a slow trot, their blue steel helmets flashing in the sun. Like a triumphal parade, each man in a new blue uniform, with button, bit and spurs burnished bright, rode proudly across that wheat-covered plateau as though in review before

the whole world. Apparently heedless of the German shells from the heights beyond, they swept across the newly won ground. Through the artillery, through the infantry supports they went, and as they passed the rearmost line of the infantry, the colonel turned in his saddle and shouted the command. Every trooper drew saber, as the column spread out fanwise into line of battle. Raising his saber the colonel signalled the charge. The lethargy of the trot vanished. Each trooper jabbed his spurs into the horse's flank, and the line sprang forward at the charge. On they went towards the Allied infantry outpost line, and then, of a sudden, there sounded the sickening tatoo of hundreds of German machine guns. The charging cavalry was literally cut to pieces. The handful still mounted tried vainly to reform, but it was evident that not until every machine gun was taken, could cavalry hope to get through. This was to be an infantry battle.

By six that evening of the 18th of July the center of the Allied line was on its "Third and Day's objective." The Moroccans and the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division which adjoined them were on the line and had dug in. The 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division and the 153rd French Division, however, were still heavily engaged in the Missy ravine, while the 2nd Division was held up in front of Vierzy. The Missy ravine cut into the flat plateau, a deep narrow ravine running north, filled with trees and brush, and the Germans had organized it for defense with

all their tactical skill. The 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division had cleaned out their end,—the shallow end and the head,—but were unable to advance until the French cleared their end. Thirty pieces of German artillery were captured at the point of the bayonet in the Missy ravine. Since standards are no longer carried in battle, captured cannon are the one great sign of victory. But not alone for this did the 1st Division relish taking these guns, for in them they saw not only the guns which that morning had been firing on the advancing waves, but also they pictured in them all the guns which had been firing on them in the past six months of trench warfare when they were powerless to strike back at them. The capture of the first guns was a gala occasion for the 1st Division. The fighting in the Missy ravine was bitter, hand-to-hand work, for the Germans clung desperately to their positions under orders to hold at all costs until reënforcements were sent.

Meanwhile the 2nd Division, on the right of the Allied line, was held up by a ravine, as was the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division. But in the case of the 2nd Division, the ravine ran almost parallel to the axis of attack while the Missy ravine ran parallel to the front. The 2nd Division had run into this ravine very soon after emerging from the wood, and had fought its way up the ravine all day long. This ravine towards its head forked into a Y and at the head of the eastern arm of this Y lay the village of

Vierzy. The railroad from Villers-Cotterets to Soissons ran up this ravine and at Vierzy entered a tunnel through the plateau. The tunnel was about a mile in length and the other end of it was the broad valley of the Crise. This valley was the real objective of the Allied attack. The Crise flowed due north down its valley and joined the Aisne at Soissons, and in the valley lay not only the railroad but also the Soissons-Château-Thierry highway. Soissons lay at the juncture of these two valleys—the Crise and the Aisne. The Allies were attacking across the broad, flat plateau which ended abruptly overlooking both valleys and the city of Soissons. If the Allies secured this plateau, Soissons, the railroad center and the meeting point of six national highways, the center of the German supply system for the Marne salient, would have to be abandoned by the Germans. In their initial assault, the Allies had gained half of this plateau, but now that the German resistance had stiffened somewhat, the Allied lines were held up before Missy-aux-Bois on the north and before Vierzy on the south. This was at 6 o'clock on the evening of July 18, the first day of the attack. General Harbord ordered an attack at 6:30 p.m. The 9th and 23rd Infantry, supported by the 5th Marines, in one great sweeping advance, captured the hill and town of Vierzy and the tunnel, and established the line beyond their objective. . . .

While this attack was going on, the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division (28th and 26th Infantry Regi-

ments) fought their way doggedly through the underbrush and tricky defiles of the Missy ravine. Tanks were of but little assistance there, and by nightfall, the town of Missy-aux-Bois was captured and the line extended slightly beyond the town and beyond the Missy ravine. Further advance was stopped by machine-gun fire from the hill northeast of the town. That night the 26th and 28th Infantry Regiments dug in on the line, while in the twilight on the rising ground in front and to the left of them, just across the Paris-Soissons road, they could plainly see German machine gunners bringing their pieces up and putting them in position. . . .

The staffs had an enormous task that night which would have been difficult had the short hours of darkness been quiet. But throughout the night the Germans shelled the area behind the lines with all the artillery that was within range. Then to add to this, the first German support to reach this sector was their air service. Late that afternoon, Baron Richthofen's "Circus," those unmistakable red-nosed planes whose number appeared to be as the sands of the sea, quickly drove the Allied planes from the sky. Then, after locating all the Allied positions for their artillery, they flew back over the lines and bombed the transport on the roads, and shot up with their machine guns the Allied infantry, defenseless in their little shallow holes. The activity of these enemy planes seemed to increase with the coming of darkness, when the Allies began moving bodies of troops

about. The German planes flew low and dropped great balls of light suspended in the air by parachutes, and, by the light of these, which lit the whole plateau like daylight, they were able to bomb the Allies with great effect. Yet, through it all, the drivers on the carts with the ammunition, food and water (the scarcest thing on the hot dry plateau) never faltered, but pushed ahead with only one thought in mind—to get their loads forward to the troops, to get water forward to their companies.

At 4 o'clock in the morning of July 19, under cover of another rolling barrage, the Allies attacked along the whole front; but during the night the Germans had put in all the reserves in the area, and the resistance that morning was much stiffer than it had been the day before. Especially was this true of the northeast corner of the plateau. It was this corner that the Germans had to hold at all costs, for the loss of it meant to them the loss of Soissons; so during the night they had sown this three-mile square with machine guns backed up by artillery. Access to this corner of the plateau from Soissons was easy for the enemy as the Paris-Soissons highway bisected that corner of the plateau between the Missy ravine and the Crise valley which the Germans chose to defend to the end. When the Allied advance began that morning, therefore, it was met by a withering fire from in front of the 153rd French Division and the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division, and the remainder of the Allied attack which was ahead of

these two units received an enfilading fire on their left flank which, added to the frontal fire, made that day's advance very difficult. The 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division had again the most difficult part of the whole Allied sector, for it was on its front that all these German machine guns had been planted, where the terrain best suited this kind of defense. In front of the 2nd Brigade the plateau rose gently, and just below the crest of the rise the Paris-Soissons road ran diagonally across the front. This gave the Germans plunging fire on the attacking waves; nevertheless the 2nd Brigade went on.

As soon as the situation was sensed, all the available tanks were rushed to the aid of the 26th and 28th Infantry Regiments, which were making such heroic attempts to cross the road and reach the hilltop. The arrival of the tanks made things go more easily. They waddled over the road and up the slope, shooting up every machine-gun nest that lay concealed in the tall grass, but as they reached the summit they met a swift end. The Germans had left several 77-mm. field guns on the far side of the slope, and, as the tanks came up on the skyline, the Germans put them all out of action by direct fire. The presence of these guns was not known to the Allies, as all the Allied airplanes had been driven from the sky. The Allied infantry, which had followed the tanks closely, was now on the crest of the low hill. It seemed impossible to advance, for the slightest movement brought a hail of bullets which cut down

every one standing. The artillery was then brought up closer, and under cover of short bursts of fire, little by little the line was advanced, and by night, at the terrific cost of more than 3,000 officers and men, it had reached the head of the Ploisy ravine. The 1st Brigade and the Moroccans also met stiffened resistance that day. The fire from their front was determined, but what stayed them was the galling, flanking fire which enfiladed them from the left (just where the Germans were expected to counter-attack); this held their gain for that day down to one mile, and they were forced to stop at the head of the Chazelle ravine.

In the sector of the 2nd Division, the 6th Marines (who had been held in corps reserve during the first day) leap-frogged the remainder of the division, as they were still fresh, and alone followed in support by the 2nd Regiment of Engineers, the 6th Marines attacked at 4 a.m. and with their usual dash and reckless driving swept over the remaining two miles of wheat-covered plateau, through, into and past machine-gun nests, until they reached the Château-Thierry road. They had met bitter German resistance all the way, had fought their way along yard by yard, but they had not stopped until they reached the road. Once on the road they met the full force of the German resistance. Time after time, by repeated assaults, they reached the road only to be thrown off again; finally they dug in, facing the village of Tigny, which lay just west of the road. They

had accomplished their mission, and won immortal glory, for the road now lay in No Man's Land and the communications between Soissons and Château-Thierry were cut. On the night of the 19th of July, therefore, the Allied advance rested its right (south) on the Château-Thierry road, at Tigny, whence the line ran northwest across the heads of the Chazelle and Ploisy ravines, where it turned sharply to the west back to the Missy ravine.

That night, the 2nd Division was relieved by the 58th French Division. It had cut the road to Château-Thierry in the face of the utmost resistance of von Hutier's attacking army. The four enemy divisions it met and defeated, in its magnificent dash across the plateau in those two days, were the pick of the entire German army, who had been selected to make the assault on Paris. Against these the 2nd Division (Regulars and Marines) advanced eleven kilometers (7 miles); but in so doing the losses were very heavy. The Germans threw every man they had into the line to save this position, and the taking of the plateau was accomplished at a cost of 183 officers and 4,742 men, total casualties. The 2nd Division captured more than 3,000 prisoners (of whom 2,125 were credited to the 23rd Infantry) belonging to eleven German regiments, and in addition to this captured 75 guns and countless machine guns. . . .

On the morning of the 20th of July, the third day of the Allied attack, the assault was carried forward . . . and again and again the last of the three Ameri-

can battalions to be put in the line advanced resolutely only to have the ranks thinned and very little ground gained at each attempt. The Germans were making a desperate stand. Machine gunners of the Prussian guards lay in the small clearings they had made in the wheat, and as the waves of attacking troops approached they loosed off belt after belt of ammunition, firing at top speed, regardless of the certain death that would come to them when the Americans came through that galling fire. There were no prisoners taken in this fierce assault. The Germans fired until they were killed. Still the Allies advanced. Each rush gained some ground. Commands were shattered, but the discipline and the heroic gallantry of the troops carried them on, until finally they crossed the crest of the knoll, where they stopped and dug in. . . .

That afternoon Major General Summerall went all over the lines. His 1st Division had been ordered to take Berzy-le-Sec and though the ranks were thin, with but few officers left, he decided to take the town next morning. Accordingly, during the night, the ranks of the 26th and 28th Infantry of the 2nd Brigade were recruited on the field of all available men —cooks, kitchen police, orderlies, clerks from Regimental Headquarters, military police, and engineers —and with what was left of each of the infantry regiments all were grouped together for the final assault. At dawn, on the morning of July 21, the fourth day of the historic attack, the artillery of the 1st Divi-

sion skillfully played on the treacherous wooded defiles which led down into Berzy-le-Sec, while the infantry doggedly worked its way forward into the very teeth of the German machine guns, but always continued the advance. Finally General Buck, who commanded the 2nd Brigade, took personal command, and Berzy-Le-Sec was captured in a magnificent charge. . . . The 1st Brigade (16th and 18th Infantry) had crossed the Château-Thierry-Soissons highway and railroad and with the Moroccans by assault had arrived on the high plateau of Buzancy. This was a veritable fortress, which the thinned ranks, on this the fourth consecutive day of the attack, were called upon to storm. Regardless of the cost they took the hill; the 18th Infantry alone took more prisoners than it had troops left in its assault battalions. The Germans were pinched out of the pocket and the Allies commanded the city of Soissons. . . .

The loss of Soissons was the greatest defeat the Germans had suffered since 1917. It meant that the entire Marne salient would have to be abandoned, and it would show to all the world, both friend and foe, that a crushing defeat at the hands of the Americans had been administered to the German army.

# THE FIRST AMERICAN ARMY IN ATTACK

*From General Pershing's Report*

*IN destroying the St. Mihiel wedge, the American forces fought for the first time as a unit under their own commanders headed by General Pershing, who made this report to the War Department. The operation proved conclusively the fighting ability of American troops organized and acting independently on the offensive. Strategically, it vastly improved the Allied communications and restored to the Allies in that area the power to attack at any moment and in any direction. The St. Mihiel salient had been held by the Germans since September, 1914. Held now by our First Army, with other American armies at hand, the occupation of this region menaced the German front and threatened the Hindenburg Line.*

*As here reported, the American army numbered about 500,000 men, including 70,000 French, mainly colonials. Sixteen thousand prisoners, 443 guns and a mass of stores were taken at the expense of less than 7,000 casualties.*

AT BOMBON on July 24 there was a conference of all the commanders-in-chief for the purpose of considering Allied operations. Each presented proposals for the employment of the armies under his command, and these formed the basis of future coöperation of the Allies. It was emphatically determined that the Allied attitude should be to maintain the offensive. At the first operation of the American army the reduction of the salient of St. Mihiel was to be undertaken as soon as the necessary troops and material could be made available. On account of the swampy nature of the country it was especially important that the movement be undertaken and finished before the fall rains should

begin, which was usually about the middle of September.

Arrangements were concluded for successive relief of the American divisions, and the organization of the First American Army under my personal command was announced on August 10, with La Ferte-sous-Jouarre as headquarters. This army nominally assumed control of a portion of the Vesle front, although at the same time directions were given for its secret concentration in the St. Mihiel sector.

The force of American soldiers in France at that moment was sufficient to carry out this offensive, but they were dispersed along the front from Switzerland to the Channel. The three army corps headquarters to participate in the St. Mihiel attack were the 1st, 4th and 5th. The 1st was on the Vesle, the 4th at Toul and the 5th not yet completely organized. To assemble combat divisions and service troops and undertake a major operation within the short period available and with staffs so recently organized was an extremely difficult task. Our deficiencies in artillery, aviation and special troops, caused by the shipment of an undue proportion of infantry and machine guns during the summer, were largely met by the French.

The reduction of the St. Mihiel salient was important, as it would prevent the enemy from interrupting traffic on the Paris-Nancy Railroad by artillery fire and would free the railroad leading north through St. Mihiel to Verdun. It would also provide

us with an advantageous base of departure for an attack against the Metz-Sedan railroad system, which was vital to the German armies west of Verdun, and against the Briey Iron Basin, which was necessary for the production of German armament and munitions.

The general plan was to make simultaneous attacks against the flanks of the salient. The ultimate objective was tentatively fixed as the general line Marieulles (east of the Moselle)—heights south of Gorze-Mars in Tour-Etain. The operations contemplated the use of the western face of three or four American divisions, supported by the attack of six divisions of the Second French Army on their left, while seven American Divisions would attack on the southern face, and three French divisions would press the enemy at the tip of the salient. As the part to be taken by the Second French Army would be closely related to the attack of the First American Army, General Petain placed all the French troops involved under my personal command.

By August 20 the concentration of the scattered divisions, corps, and army troops, of the quantities of supplies and munitions required, and the necessary construction of light railways and roads, were well under way. . . .

On August 30 a further discussion with Marshal Foch was held at my headquarters at Ligny-en-Barrois. In view of the new successes of the French and British near Amiens and the continued favorable re-

sults toward the Chemin des Dames on the French front, it was now believed that the limited Allied offensive, which was to prepare for the campaign of 1919, might be carried further before the end of the year. At this meeting it was proposed by Marshal Foch that the general operations as far as the American army was concerned should be carried out in detail by:

(a) An attack between the Meuse and the Argonne by the Second French Army, reinforced by from four to six American divisions.

(b) A French-American attack, extending from the Argonne west to the Souain road, to be executed on the right by an American army astride the Aisne and on the left by the Fourth French Army.

To carry out these attacks the ten to eleven American divisions suggested for the St. Mihiel operation and the four to six for the Second French Army, would have eight to ten divisions for an American army on the Aisne. It was proposed that the St. Mihiel operation should be initiated on September 10, and the other two on September 15 and 20, respectively.

The plan suggested for the American participation in these operations was not acceptable to me because it would require the immediate separation of the recently formed First American Army into several groups, mainly to assist French armies. This was directly contrary to the principle of forming a distinct American army, for which my contention had

been insistent. An enormous amount of preparation had already been made, a construction of roads, railroads, regulating stations and other installations looking to the use and supply of our armies on a particular front. The inherent disinclination of our troops to serve under Allied commanders would have grown and American morale would have suffered. My position was stated quite clearly that the strategical employment of the First Army as a unit would be undertaken where desired, but its disruption to carry out these proposals would not be entertained.

A further conference at Marshal Foch's headquarters was held on September 2, at which General Petain was present. After discussion the question of employing the American army as a unit was conceded. The essentials of the strategical decision previously arrived at provided that the advantageous situation of the Allies should be exploited to the utmost by vigorously continuing the general battle and extending it eastward to the Meuse. All the Allied armies were to be employed in a converging action. The British armies, supported by the left of the French armies, were to pursue the attack in the direction of Cambrai; the center of the French armies, west of Rheims, would continue the actions already begun to drive the enemy beyond the Aisne; and the American army supported by the right of the French armies, would direct its attack on Sedan and Mézières.

It should be recorded that although this general offensive was fully outlined at the conference no one

present expressed the opinion that the final victory could be won in 1918. In fact, it was believed by the French High Command that the Meuse-Argonne attack could not be pushed much beyond Montfaucon before the arrival of winter would force a cessation of operations.

The choice between the two sectors, that east of the Aisne, including the Argonne Forest, or the Champagne sector, was left to me. In my opinion no other Allied troops had the morale or the offensive spirit to overcome successfully the difficulties to be met in the Meuse-Argonne sector, and our plans and installations had been prepared for an expansion of operations in that direction. So the Meuse-Argonne front was chosen. The entire sector of 150 kilometers of front, extending from Port-sur-Seille, east of the Moselle, west to include the Argonne Forest, was accordingly placed under my command, including all French divisions then in that zone. The First American Army was to proceed with the St. Mihiel operation, after which the operation between the Meuse and the western edge of the Argonne Forest was to be prepared and launched not later than September 25.

As a result of these decisions the depth of the St. Mihiel operation was limited to the line Vigneulles-Thiaucourt-Regnieville. The number of divisions to be used was reduced and the time shortened. Eighteen to nineteen divisions were to be in the front line. There were four French and fifteen American divi-

sions available, six of which would be in reserve, while the two flank divisions of the front line were not to advance. Furthermore, two Army Corps Headquarters, with their corps troops, practically all the army artillery and aviation, and the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Divisions, the first two destined to take a leading part in the St. Mihiel attack, were all due to be withdrawn and started for the Meuse-Argonne by the fourth day of the battle.

The salient had been held by the Germans since September, 1914. It covered the most sensitive section of the enemy's position on the western front, namely, the Mézières-Sedan-Metz Railroad and the Briey Iron Basin; it threatened the entire region between Verdun and Nancy, and interrupted the main rail line from Paris to the east. Its primary strength lay in the natural defensive features of the terrain itself. The western face of the salient extended along the rugged, heavily wooded eastern heights of the Meuse; the southern face followed the heights of the Meuse for eight kilometers to the east and then crossed the plain of the Woevre, including within the German lines the detached heights of Loupmont and Montsec which dominated the plain and afforded the enemy unusual facilities for observation. The enemy had reinforced the positions by every artificial means during a period of four years.

On the night of September 11 the troops of the First Army were deployed in position. On the southern face of the salient was the 1st Corps, Major Gen-

eral Liggett commanding, with the 82nd, 19th, 5th and 2nd Divisions in line, extending from the Moselle westward. On its left was the 4th Corps, Major General Joseph T. Dickman commanding, with the 89th, 42nd and 1st Divisions, the left of this corps being opposite Montsec. These two army corps were to deliver the principal attack, the line pivoting on the center division of the 1st Corps. The 1st Division, on the left of the 4th Corps, was charged with the double mission of covering its own flank while advancing some twenty kilometers due north toward the heart of the salient, where it was to make contact with the troops of the 5th Corps. On the western face of the salient lay the 5th Corps, Major General George H. Cameron commanding, with the 26th Division, 15th French Colonial Division and the 4th Division in line, from Mouilly west to Les Eparges and north to Watronville. Of these three divisions the 26th alone was to make a deep advance directed southeast toward Vigneulles. The French division was to make a short progression to the edge of the heights in order to cover the left of the 26th. The 4th Division was not to advance. In the center, between our 4th and 5th Army Corps, was the 2nd French Colonial Corps, Major General E. J. Blondlat commanding, covering a front of forty kilometers with three small French divisions. These troops were to follow up the retirement of the enemy from the tip of the salient.

The French independent air force was at my disposal, which, together with the British bombing squadrons and our own air forces, gave us the largest assemblage of aviation that had ever been engaged in one operation. Our heavy guns were able to reach Metz and to interfere seriously with German rail movements.

At dawn on September 12, after four hours of violent artillery fire of preparation, and accompanied by small tanks, the infantry of the 1st and 4th Corps advanced. The infantry of the 5th Corps commenced its advance at 8 a. m. The operation was carried out with entire precision. Just after daylight on September 13 elements of the 1st and 26th Divisions made a junction near Hattonchatel and Vigneulles, eighteen kilometers northeast of St. Mihiel.

The rapidity with which our divisions advanced overwhelmed the enemy, and all objectives were reached by the afternoon of September 13. The enemy had apparently started to withdraw some of his troops from the tip of the salient on the eve of our attack, but had been unable to carry it through. We captured nearly 16,000 prisoners, 443 guns, and large stores of material and supplies. The energy and swiftness with which the operation was carried out enabled us to smother opposition to such an extent that we suffered less than 7,000 casualties during the actual period of the advance.

During the next two days the right of our line west of the Moselle River was advanced beyond the

objectives laid down in the original orders. This completed the operation for the time being and the line was stabilized to be held by the smallest practicable force.

The material results of the victory achieved were very important. An American army was an accomplished fact, and the enemy had felt its power. No form of propaganda could overcome the depressing effect on the morale of the enemy of this demonstration of our ability to organize a large American force and drive it successfully through his defense. It gave our troops implicit confidence in their superiority and raised their morale to the highest pitch. For the first time wire entanglements ceased to be regarded as impassable barriers and open-warfare training, which had been so urgently insisted upon, proved to be the correct doctrine. Our divisions concluded the attack with such small losses and in such high spirits that without the usual rest they were immediately available for employment in heavy fighting in a new theater of operations. The strength of the First Army in this battle totaled approximately 500,000 men, of whom about 70,000 were French.

# BREAKING THE HINDENBURG LINE

*United States Government Statement*

*DISCOURAGED by the weakening morale of his troops, who believed no longer in his lavish promises of victory, General von Ludendorff, succeeding von Hindenburg in the German High Command, pronounced August 8, 1918, "the blackest day of the war." It was on that day that American, supported by Canadian, troops, as here recounted, smashed through the Hindenburg Line north of Bellenglise, stormed Bellicourt and seized Nauroy. Retreating German regiments signalized their state of mind by shouting to the fresh troops moving up to replace them in the front lines "Don't fight!" and "You are only prolonging the war!"*

*In the final smash, which completely routed the enemy on this battle front, September 29, two American Divisions, the Twenty-seventh and the Thirtieth, took a leading part.*

IN September, 1918, the Second American Corps (Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Divisions) was placed at the disposal of the Fourth British Army for operations against the Hindenburg Line east of Peronne.

On the night of September 23-24 the Thirtieth Division took over what was known as the Nauroy sector, with a front of 3,750 yards, about 1,000 yards west of the main Hindenburg Line, and approximately on the old Hindenburg Outpost Line. On the next night the Twenty-seventh Division took over the Gouy sector, on the left of the Thirtieth Division and connecting with it; its front was 4,500 yards, approximately along the old British front line trenches, very close to the Hindenburg Outpost Line.

On September 27, a preliminary operation was undertaken to straighten the line of the Thirtieth Division and to bring the Twenty-seventh up to the start line for the main attack. The Thirtieth Division succeeded, but by the afternoon of September 28 the Twenty-seventh Division was back nearly in its original position.

At 5:50 a.m., September 29, the corps attacked, supported by the Australian Corps. The Second British Corps attacked simultaneously on its right, and the Third British Corps on its left. The attack was to be led by tanks, behind a rolling barrage. The start line was slightly to the east of the Hindenburg Outpost Line, and the objective east of Nauroy and Gouy. The plan provided that after the Americans had reached their objectives the Australians were to pass through them and continue in the advance.

The Thirtieth Division was already on the starting line, close behind the initial line of the barrage. The Twenty-seventh, however, had not yet been able to take the three strong points—the Knoll, Guillemont Farm and Quennemont Farm—and was consequently about 1,000 yards behind the barrage line, which was east of them. The question of changing the barrage lines for this division was raised, but decided in the negative, the brigade designated to make the attack having reported at 6 p.m. on the 28th that it expected to be within 400 yards of the barrage lines,

or possibly even on the intended starting line, before the hour for attack.

The barrage fell as planned at 5:50 a.m., September 29, stood for four minutes on the initial line, and then advanced at the rate of 100 yards in four minutes. The Thirtieth Division advanced behind it, Sixtieth Brigade in first line. The One Hundred and Seventeenth Infantry was to follow across the tunnel, then deploy, facing south and cover the right of the Australians after the relief. Arrangements were made to seize the southern exit of the tunnel which lay in the division sector.

The German barrage was not heavy, but nevertheless there were many casualties, especially in the support battalions. Smoke and fog rendered it difficult to keep direction and contact. The One Hundred and Twentieth Infantry on the right crossed the Hindenburg Line and occupied Nauroy, the One Hundred and Seventeenth reached its proper position, facing southeast and connecting the One Hundred and Twentieth with the Forty-sixth British Division. The One Hundred and Nineteenth, however, on the left, was enfiladed by machine guns from its own left, and had to form a defensive flank in that direction, reaching back to the tunnel and then connecting with the Twenty-seventh Division. A battalion of the One Hundred and Seventeenth and one of the One Hundred and Eighteenth were sent to support this flank. In this position the Australians passed through the

lines and relieved the Thirtieth Division on the afternoon of September 29.

In the Twenty-seventh Division, the Fifty-fourth Infantry Brigade made the attack under the same difficulties on account of fog and smoke. It also received machine-gun fire in enfilade from the direction of Vendhuile, outside its sector to the left. Part of the right regiment, the One Hundred and Eighth, by a detour to the south avoided Quennemont Farm and reached the Hindenburg Line south of Bony. Groups from all attacking battalions succeeded in penetrating between the strong points and reaching the Hindenburg Line; but by dusk only the extreme right retained its footing in that line. Here the division was relieved by the Australians, and remained in support; numerous groups, however, aggregating 1,000 men remained with the Australians and assisted them in cleaning up the Hindenburg Line on the right, taking it throughout the rest of the sector, and occupying part of the village of Bony.

The following is a quotation from the dispatch of Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, dated January 7, 1919: "North of Bellenglise the Thirtieth American Division (Major Gen. E. M. Lewis), having broken through the deep defenses of the Hindenburg Line, stormed Bellicourt and seized Nauroy.

"On their left the Twenty-seventh American Division (Major-Gen. J. F. O'Ryan) met with very heavy enfilade machine-gun fire, but pressed on with great gallantry as far as Bony, where a bitter struggle took place for the possession of the village."

# A CLOSE-UP OF THE GREAT ARGONNE BATTLE

*By Major-General Robert Lee Bullard*

*AS commander of the First Division, then of the 3rd Corps and finally of the Second American Army in France, General Bullard saw and tells, in his "Personalities and Reminiscences of the War," from which this account is taken by permission of Doubleday, Page & Company, of the intimate, fighting, human aspect of the war.*

*During the preparation of the Meuse-Argonne offensive, Bullard was practically in command of more than half a million men. It was in the early stages of this "greatest battle ever fought by American troops" that he took command of our Second Army.*

*Previously General Bullard had written the famous message at the opening of the Second Battle of the Marne, July, 1918, which marked the turning point of the war, concluding with the words, "We are going to counter-attack." His victorious troops were pushing on toward Metz, driving the Germans before them, when the Armistice was signed.*

RARELY have I seen anything more carefully or completely planned and prepared for than the beginning of the battle of the Meuse-Argonne. I remembered the question of the French staff officer a year before in Lyons, when he saw one of our detachments lost and straying over France—"Have you no staff?" We now had a staff.

On the wonderful French maps the plans showed the immediate and remote objectives of each corps. The maps in many bright colors reminded me of the criticism of the American officer who a few months before had remarked to a French general that the French staff were going in too much for making "Easter

eggs," referring to the many colored areas of oval shape on these maps. And now our own staff were making "Easter eggs."

In all these preparations there were some failures. Two brigadier-generals and one major-general who were slow and unenergetic or careless, who were not impressed by their responsibilities in preparation, shortly lost their commands upon my recommendation; and later, in battle, I know of two other major-generals who lost theirs in other corps near me. This of course is hardly believable as we read only American histories of our fighting in France. These never refer to any failure or laxity in battle or duty by even the humblest American soldier.

As I read some of these narratives I know we are now going to transmit to our children the same exaggeration of uniform American duty, bravery, and prowess as fill the popular histories of our Revolution —such histories as made it necessary for General Upton to tell the truth in his "Military Policy of the United States."

The hardest work that I did or saw done by others in France was the holding of men to duty in service and battle. In the early days some of our military theorists who had been little at the front desired to reduce the military police used for this purpose. As our fighting increased these military police had, on the contrary, to be augmented in every way possible. An unbroken line of them now followed our attacks.

This arrangement of all troops completed, General Pershing came on a visit of verification. He inquired about things in a very good-humored, agreeable, almost careless way; yet I knew that underneath his easy manner was inexorable ruin to the commander who did not have things right. He shows the least personal feeling of all the commanders that I have ever known, and never spares the incompetent. . . .

Early on the morning of the 26th we attacked. That day my corps advanced almost as far as we had anticipated. I was feeling good. We crossed the awful wire entanglements of No Man's Land and beyond; we crossed the Forges Brook; the enemy's reaction in our front had not been violent and my corps that day had suffered no great losses. Yet we had had no walk-over. We had just made a start. More fighting and further advances were necessary before we should reach the final corps objective—the enemy's third position.

The fighting was renewed the next day, the next day, and the next, before we reached that third position. On one of these days the whole army was gathered and made a concerted attack and advance. The resistance of the enemy was steadily stiffening. Wherever his machine guns were encountered—and they were encountered after the passage of his first line—the progress was exceedingly difficult. Indeed, his first defense seemed to be almost wholly machine guns. But now also, as my corps went forward, we began to catch a heavy artillery fire from the high

ground on the right bank of the Meuse. It was becoming exceedingly annoying, more so as we advanced. Two days of the first four of the battle were used in my corps for cleanups of enemy machine-gun positions that we had passed over in the advance. . . .

In our halt in front of the enemy's third position a very great difficulty was being encountered in reaching the advanced troops with ambulances, food and ammunition. From Montzeville across the old No Man's Land and up to the enemy's front line, a distance of perhaps seven kilometers, a road of pre-war days was shown on the map. As we passed over this distance in the first day's attack there was no sign of this road except stones scattered in two or three years' ploughing by the enemy's great guns. It had been shell-cratered over and over. As our infantry line advanced, it was followed along this old road by a great force of engineers and pioneers who by sheer numbers, with tooth and nail, scratched and levelled and macadamized a road over which ambulances, food, ammunition and artillery followed almost as rapidly as the troops advanced.

The workman formed practically a continuous line on both sides of the road and swarmed back of the side lines like ants, gathering gravel and broken stone to be thrown upon the roadbed. They worked night and day without cessation, with a devotion not surpassed by the men who were risking their lives in the very front lines. They could use only the light-

est implements, because their trains with heavier tools could not be brought for some time upon the ground. The men gathered stones by hand and brought them to the roadbed where they sank in the mud of late shell craters almost as if they had been dropped into a bottomless sea, so soft was the ground and so destructive the passage of vehicles. It was an exhausting, heart-breaking, discouraging, ever-continuous operation that lasted all the time (three weeks) that I remained with the First Army—and long after, I am told. But the road worked, and gradually solidified and hardened. I consider it altogether—in making, upkeep and operation—the most wonderful piece of work that I saw executed during the World War. . . .

Between the 7th and 10th I visited brigade and division headquarters of the 4th Division. They were fighting hard and uncertainly. They still had the Bois de Fay, whose southern edge was being swept by a terrible machine-gun fire from the enemy on both the right and the left flank. Passage or reinforcements to the troops in the Bois was impossible by day, and by night almost so. The division was almost exhausted. Their food was used up and their ammuniton almost gone, but they still held on—weak, scattered and disorganized by heavy losses and repeated enemy counter-attacks, but still in the Bois de Fay. The division commander, General Hines, greatly concerned, half asked me to allow withdrawal from the wood. "No," I answered, "we've got to

stay there; we give up nothing. Your division has done magnificent work and shown wonderful courage."

"Then tell them so!" he exclaimed. And I did so at once, from his German dugout headquarters at Cuisy.

I ordered a corps airplane to fly over and scatter down to the troops in that wood (that was the only way they could be reached) a citation for their bravery and an encouragement to stick. They did stick, while I ordered all the artillery and all the airplanes that I could lay my hands on to bombard Brieulles and the fort near it that was decimating these men with machine-gun fire, and to bombard also the enemy's batteries in the hills east of the Meuse. Brieulles and its fort upon the hill were smashed and destroyed by airplanes and heavy artillery. Their destruction relieved the 4th Division. The troops in the Bois de Fay were reinforced, fed and saved. Their losses and the strain upon them had been very great, the greatest that I have known. I shall remember this as one of the finest if not the finest deed that I have known. They were gassed, bombarded with artillery, and riddled with machine-gun fire, but they had stayed, and the enemy was at last pushed out of the wood by their drive. . . .

While my corps was at a standstill struggling at Brieulles, Bois de Fay and Bois des Ogons, it seemed to me that also the whole First Army was nearly at a standstill. Daily I heard reports of attacks by

corps and divisions, but the gains were small and irregular and the losses too great for the results. In most of these attacks, both general and local, our infantry, on account of difficult ground, trenches, wire and enemy machine-gun nests, were unable to or did not follow closely our rolling barrage. These barrages did not annihilate the enemy. That enemy had learned to bury himself and, our barrage having passed over him, to rise from his pits and, with the skill of the trained soldier, stop or slaughter our advancing infantry, coming too far behind the barrage.

For a week, it seems to me, the First Army was practically at a standstill. Daily communiques told us of our Allies' progress on other fronts: we were making none. Officers in high command, I know, were worried. I was among the number, but at last success at Brieulles, Bois de Fay, and the Bois des Ogons relieved me. My corps was in position now to take up a further advance. And of the Bois des Ogons an incident: The 80th Division had twice in strong attacks taken the wood and twice had been thrown out with severe losses. The general commanding, when I visited his headquarters, half asked me to be allowed to give up the attempt. "Give it up and you are a goner; you'll lose your command in twenty-four hours. Make one more attack. This time you'll take the wood and throw the enemy out." He did. He was given a corps shortly afterward. . . .

Near my front lines—while still in the Bois de Fay—I witnessed a magnificent spectacle—four or

five squadrons of our airplanes passing over to harass the enemy's rear. The whirr of their wings filled the air with an angry, terrifying roar. So great a number—one hundred and twenty or more—I had never before seen. To the Germans, who must already have been feeling their inability to resist, so great a number at one time and place must have carried discouragement. The whirr of their wings is terrifying even to good troops. It makes them feel that they are helpless underneath, thus dominated from above. Our troops, especially new troops, had felt this and had made bitter complaint of being undefended against the enemy's planes. Yet no such number of enemy planes ever appeared where I served. I never saw enemy planes at one time anywhere exceeding a dozen.

In the enemy's surly retirement between the Marne and the Aisne his active airplanes gave ours all we could do. They destroyed many of our balloons: I once saw two or three go as fast as the enemy aviator could fly from one to the other. Now in the battle of the Meuse-Argonne I can remember seeing comparatively few enemy airplanes: only one as far back as my own headquarters, and it was then being pursued by two of our own—going for all the world like a wild bird in terrified flight before a hawk. Certainly now the enemy was outnumbered by us in the air. This was another sign that this great battle would have but one end, the defeat and driving of the enemy from the field.

# THE LAST A. E. F. DRIVE TO SEDAN

*By General Sir Frederick Maurice, British Chief-of-Staff*

*GALLANTRY on the part of the First American Army, of which General Summerall was commanding his old 1st Division in the van, enabled a French Division, composed mainly of natives of Sedan, to be the first to enter the city, November 6, 1918. The main line of German communications had been cut, and realizing that only a cessation of hostilities could save his armies from complete disaster, the enemy appealed for an immediate armistice.*

*This account of our last and most spectacular advance is given by the British chief of staff, whose book, "The Last Four Months" (Little, Brown & Company), is the best record of the closing campaign that may ever be written.*

*Meanwhile, the Allies were sweeping through Belgium. The line on the Scheldt River was carried, with American aid, on November 4, and Belgium was practically free of the invader.*

THERE was no chance now for the leisurely retreat to the Meuse which Ludendorff had planned. It was essential to withdraw to the river as quickly as possible, but to do this without incurring irremediable disaster it was still as necessary as it had been since the end of September to delay to the utmost the British advance on Namur and the American progress towards Sedan.

This was the position of which Foch proposed to take advantage by continuing the general plan of his great battle. Gouraud and the Americans were to strike for Mézières and Sedan and block the southern exits, while the British armies made for Maubeuge and Mons and threatened Namur before the Germans in western Bel-

gium could get away. The advance on Namur would force the Germans to come out of the greater part of Belgium in a hurry or be cut off, and would save that sorely tried land from the destruction which was inevitable if it became the scene of pitched battles, while the advance on Mézières and Sedan would have the same effect on the German center. The French armies in the center were, therefore, to continue their role of harassing and delaying the German retreat, and the Belgian armies were to keep the Germans busy on the Scheldt. The French troops on King Albert's right, however, with the help of two American divisions sent up to reënforce them, were to assist the British advance by forcing the line of the Scheldt about Audenarde.

On November 1 the last drive began, as had that of September, with a Franco-American attack, and again there lay in front of the American left a stretch of mountain forest, the Forest of Bourgogne, a northern extension of the Argonne. Again the intention was to force the Germans out of the forest by a combined advance of the Americans to the east of it, and of Gouraud's army to the west. This time the plan was completely successful. On the right of the American battle front the Third American Corps attacked in the Meuse valley, while the Fifth American Corps broke clean through such parts of the Kriemhilde [Hindenburg] Line as it had not previously captured, and made an advance of about five miles in the one day. Simultaneously Gouraud extended

his hold on the heights on the eastern bank of the Aisne opposite Vouziers.

The Germans were in no mind for a repetition of the Argonne struggle. Before the battle started their morale had begun to give way under the steady pressure of the American advance, and now it gave way altogether, while the American divisions which had done most of the hard fighting in October had either been rested and their ranks refilled, or had been relieved by fresh divisions, with the result that the First American Army was as full of vigor and energy as it had been on September 26, despite the continuously wet and cold weather on the bleak hills of the Meuse.

On November 2 the First American Corps on the left of the First Army drove forward six miles, captured Burzancy, and lined the eastern edge of the Bourgogne Forest, Gouraud at the same time reaching its western edge throughout its length. The Germans immediately evacuated the forest and began a general retreat before the First American Army and Gouraud's right.

During the night of November 3 the infantry of the Second American Division, giving the weary Germans no time to reorganize a defense, made a remarkable pursuit and advanced in the darkness straight through the German lines for a distance of five miles. This great progress enabled the Americans to bring forward long-range guns and to shell the railway stations of Longuyon and Montmédy, through which

the Crown Prince was trying to get away as much as possible of his war material.

The clearing of the Bourgogne Forest had enabled Gouraud to join hands with the Americans on November 3 to the north of the forest, and he thus obtained a straight front of some nine miles beyond the Aisne east of Attigney. He was now able to threaten the retreat of the German troops holding the formidable Brunehilde Line farther west between Attigny and Rethel, by pushing forward his right wing in conjunction with the American advance. On November 4 he drove the enemy back from the southern portion of the canal which connects the Aisne near Attigny with the Meuse near Sedan. This maneuver compelled the Germans to fall back from the Brunehilde Line in order to avoid being cut off from Mézières, and the French entered Rethel on November 6.

Meanwhile, by November 5 the American front had sprung forward another six miles, and on the evening of the 6th, despite the endeavors of the German machine gunners to delay the pursuit, a division of the First American Corps reached the Meuse opposite the southern outskirts of Sedan, twenty-one miles from its starting point of November 1. Gouraud, with a longer distance to go and with the resistance of the German troops, who had fallen back from the Brunehilde Line, to overcome, did not reach his objective, Mézières, until the evening of the tenth.

While the First and Fifth American Corps were advancing northwards towards Sedan the right of the

Third Corps began to strike out eastwards, and it crossed the Meuse and occupied Dun on November 4. Thence on the following days, the Third, Second Colonial and Seventeenth French Corps on the right of the First American Army gradually wore down the resistance of the Germans in the wooded Meuse hills, and on the morning of November 11, when the Armistice came into effect, the Franco-American front was within six miles of Montmédy, where the German Crown Prince had lived during the battle of Verdun, when he was not in his dugout on the Montfaucon Hill. Though Montmédy was not entered by the Allies until the Germans had withdrawn in accordance with the Armistice terms, they found on arrival that defeat had not changed the German nature, for the little town was pillaged by the enemy's troops before they left. These operations on the east bank of the Meuse towards Montmédy were extended southwards by the Second American Army, which began the long threatened movement toward the Briey iron fields. . . .

The opinion is widely held that the Armistice of Novemer 11 was premature. It is argued that we had the German armies at our mercy, and that the foundations of peace would have been more sure if we had ended the war by forcing the surrender in the field of a great part of those armies, or failing that, had driven our beaten enemy back across the Rhine and followed him into the heart of Germany. The reception of the German troops by the German people, their march

into the German towns through triumphal arches and beflagged streets with their helmets crowned with laurels, and the insistent statements in Germany that the German armies had not been defeated, that the Armistice had been accepted to save bloodshed, and to put an end to the sufferings of the women and children aroused amazement and disgust in the victors. There was very real anxiety lest after all we had failed to convince Germany that war did not pay; it was felt that we ought to have brought the realization of what war means home to the German people in their own country, and that, had we done so, the long-drawn-out negotiations in Paris would have been concluded more speedily and more satisfactorily. It is worth while, therefore, examining the situation as it was at the time of the Armistice, and considering the case as it presented itself to the men who had to decide whether hostilities should cease or not.

There is no question but that the German armies were completely and decisively beaten in the field. The German plenipotentiaries admitted it when they met Marshal Foch, and von Brockdorff-Rantzau admitted it at Versailles, when he said after the Allied peace terms had been presented to him: "We are under no illusions as to the extent of our defeat and the degree of our want of power. . . . We know that the power of the German army is broken."

Even if these admissions had not been made, the condition of the German lines of retreat to the Rhine is conclusive evidence of the condition of their

armies. Every road was littered with broken-down motor-trucks, guns, machine guns and trench mortars. Great stacks of supplies and of military stores of all kinds were abandoned. Every railway line was blocked with loaded trucks which the Germans had been unable to remove. The sixty miles of railway in the valley of the Meuse between Dinant and Mézières was filled from end to end with a continuous line of German freight trains carrying guns, ammunition, engineering equipment and other paraphernalia. On the Belgian canals alone over eight hundred fully charged military barges were found.

It is beyond dispute that on November 11 the lines of communication immediately behind the German armies had been thrown into complete disorder by the streams of traffic which were converging on the Meuse bridges, disorder greatly intensified by the attacks of the Allied airman. The German armies, unable to resist on the fighting front, could no longer retreat in good order, partly because of the congestion on the roads and railways behind them, which not only hampered the movements of the troops, but prevented the systematic supply to them of food and ammunition, partly owing to the fact that there were not horses left to draw the transport of the fighting troops.

If ever armies were in a state of hopeless rout, the German armies were in the second week of November, 1918. . . . But the Allied armies had reached, or very nearly reached, the farthest limit at which for

the time being they could be kept regularly supplied. The reasons for this were twofold. In the first place the Allied lines of communication grew steadily longer as the Germans were driven back, and even before our victorious advance began the state of the railways and the amount of rolling stock in France had caused anxiety. . . . At the time of the Armistice the motor lorries were working in double and treble shifts, and the strain upon them caused by the bad roads and the incessant work was such that in the Fourth Army on November 11 more than half of the lorries at the service of the army had broken down. The troops were receiving no more than bare necessities, and at one time had with them nothing more than the day's food carried by the men.

# THE WAR IN THE AIR

*By Captain Shipley Thomas, 26th Infantry, U. S. A.*

*CAPTAIN THOMAS, historian of the American Expeditionary Forces, thus recounts, in his authoritative "Story of the A. E. F.," published by George H. Doran Company, the invaluable aid rendered by the Air Service in driving the Germans back over their boasted Hindenburg Line and ending the Great War six months to a year earlier than had been anticipated. American pilots shot down 755 enemy planes and 71 balloons, losing 357 planes and 34 balloons.*

*Aside from the tell-tale figures here given is the account of our biggest air battle, during the storming of the Argonne, when 30 enemy planes were trapped by A. E. F. squadrons and 13 of them were shot down within an hour, the American loss being one plane.*

*When the Armistice was signed, November 11, 1918, plans were under way to send to the front several thousand heavy bombing planes like the NC-4, which was the first to fly across the Atlantic.*

LIKE many other parts of the American army, the Air Service was just coming into its own when the Armistice was signed. Like the infantry it got its first taste of quiet work in the Toul sector. At Château-Thierry it had its first taste of real fighting. The whole American air service and some British and French squadrons were assembled for the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient, with the result that the First American Army had under its command the largest aerial concentration gathered in any sector on the front at any time during the war. Again in the Meuse-Argonne offensive, the American Air Service continued its mastery of the air. On the Marne, at St. Mihiel, in the Argonne, the

American air forces met the best German air forces. American pilots shot down 753 enemy planes and 71 balloons, suffering a loss of only 357 planes and 34 balloons. When the hostilities ceased on November 11, there had been assigned to the armies taking part in the great final sweep of the Germans from French soil, 45 American air squadrons, manned by 744 pilots, 457 observers, 23 aerial gunners and the necessary complement of other soldiers. These squadrons had 740 planes fully armed and equipped.

Twelve of these squadrons were equipped with machines made in America, and with the Liberty engine, which in actual service fulfilled all that was claimed for it, and proved to be America's best single contribution to war aviation.

The personnel of the air service, which was trained in the American schools, demonstrated in actual combat that it was second to none in the world for aggressiveness and skill. Our air squadron took part in 150 bombing raids, and dropped over 275,000 pounds of explosives on the enemy. They flew 35,000 hours over the line, and took 18,000 pictures of enemy positions. On innumerable occasions they regulated the firing of our artillery, flew in contact with our advancing forces, and from a height of only a few yards from the ground, machine-gunned and bombed enemy batteries, convoys and troops on the march. . . .

The principal work of our air forces at the front during the Argonne drive was the screening of move-

ments during the period from September 14 to 26. The weather was also bad for the flyers during this offensive, and it was necessary to confine photographs to the most important points.

Some of the most brilliant work done by our airmen, however, was during this time. On October 4 our day bombardment planes were sent to bomb Dun-sur-Meuse and Landres-St. Georges, and succeeded in dropping a ton and a half of bombs on each objective.

The low-hanging clouds were filled with enemy pursuit planes and a group of 30 Fokkers and Pfalz planes swerved down on our formation. Our 90th Squadron, being in the lead, got the brunt of the attack. The formation closed in and held the enemy at a distance. Two other bombardment squadrons, the 20th and the 11th, attacked the enemy from the rear, shooting down two of them.

A general fight ensued. At the hottest part of the battle, 30 squads of the American Second Pursuit Group arrived on schedule time. The enemy, trapped, vainly struggled to escape. When the smoke of battle cleared away, 13 German planes lay shattered within a space of 1,000 feet on the ground. We lost one plane.

The work of American balloons at the front forms a bright chapter in our aerial history. Of the 35 balloon companies in France at the time of the armistice, with 446 officers and 6,365 enlisted men, 23 com-

panies had been assigned to the armies which were actively engaged on the front.

Our balloon personnel, trained in the A. E. F., acquitted itself in a highly creditable manner. They made 1,642 ascensions and were in the air a total of 3,111 hours. They made 316 artillery adjustments, each comprising all the shots fired at one target; they reported 12,018 shell bursts; sighted 11,856 enemy planes; reported 2,649 enemy balloon ascensions; enemy batteries 400 times, enemy traffic and railroads, 1,113 times, and explosions and destructions 597 times.

American balloons were attacked by the enemy on 89 occasions; 34 of them were burned during such attacks, and nine others destroyed by shell fire. Our observers jumped from the baskets 116 times, and in no case did the parachute fail to open properly. One observer lost his life when pieces of his burning balloon fell on his descending parachute.

The actual accomplishment of the Air Service at the front was all the result of a much more tremendous accomplishment—not so spectacular, but infinitely necessary—in one of the most remarkable organizations ever put together, an organization that within a year's time sprang from a little branch of the Signal Corps, with 65 officers, and 1,110 men to a service of the army with 20,000 officers and 170,000 enlisted men. . . . The Service in France was fully prepared to take care of the great flotilla of planes which America was just getting ready to send across when the war was stopped.

# AIRPLANE DUELS

*By Major Edward Vernon (Eddie) Rickenbacker, American Ace of Aces*

*HEADING a roll of "aces," (as army aviators who shot down five or more enemy planes were designated), was Rickenbacker, from whose "Fighting the Flying Circus" this account of two representative exploits is taken. The title of American Ace of Aces descended to Major Rickenbacker from the original holder, Major Raoul Lufbery, who had brought down eighteen enemy planes in single combat when he was killed in action, May 19, 1917.*

*On October 30, 1918—twelve days before the Armistice was signed—Rickenbacker won his twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth victories, completing his score. Later, however, on November 9, Squadron 94, which he commanded, was credited with shooting down the last enemy plane to be felled during the war. This squadron was the first to fly over the German lines, completed more hours flying than any other American organization, and won more victories.*

IT was April 29, 1918, that I had my first turn of luck. I was in the air with Captain James Norman Hall following a course towards Pont-à-Mousson, as that experienced flyer led the way.

Whether or not he knew all along that a German craft was in that region I could not tell. But when he began to change his direction and curve up into the sun I followed close behind him knowing that there was a good reason for this maneuver. I looked earnestly about me in every direction.

Yes! There was a scout coming towards us from north of Pont-à-Mousson. It was at about our altitude. I knew it was a Hun the moment I saw it, for it had the familiar lines of their new Pfalz. More-

over, my confidence in James Norman Hall was such that I knew he couldn't make a mistake. And he was still climbing into the sun, carefully keeping his position between its glare and the oncoming fighting plane. I clung as closely to Hall as I could. The Hun was steadily approaching us, unconscious of his danger, for we were full in the sun.

With the first downward dive of Jimmy's machine I was by his side. We had at least a thousand feet advantage over the enemy and we were two to one numerically. He might outdive our machines, for the Pfalz is a famous diver, while our faster climbing Nieuports had a droll little habit of shedding their fabric when plunged too furiously through the air. The Boche hadn't a chance to outfly us. His only salvation would be in a dive towards his own lines.

These thoughts passed through my mind in a flash and I instantly determined upon my tactics. While Hall went in for his attack I would keep my altitude and get a position the other side of the Pfalz, to cut off his retreat.

No sooner had I altered my line of flight than the German pilot saw me leave the sun's rays. Hall was already half-way to him when he stuck up his nose and began furiously climbing to the upper ceiling. I let him pass me and found myself on the other side just as Hall began firing. I doubt if the Boche had seen Hall's Nieuport at all.

Surprised by discovering this new antagonist, Hall, ahead of him, the Pfalz immediately abandoned all

idea of a battle and banking around to the right started for home just as I had expected him to do. In a trice I was on his tail. Down, down we sped with both throttles full open. Hall was coming on somewhere in my rear. The Boche had no heart for evolutions or maneuvers. He was running like a scared rabbit. I was gaining upon him every instant and had my sights trained dead upon his seat before I fired my first shot.

At 150 yards I pressed my triggers. The tracer bullets cut a streak of living fire into the rear of the Pfalz tail. Raising the nose of my aeroplane slightly the fiery streak lifted itself like a stream of water pouring from a garden hose. Gradually it settled into the pilot's seat. The swerving of the Pfalz course indicated that its rudder no longer was held by a directing hand. At 2,000 feet above the enemy's lines I pulled up my headlong dive and watched the enemy machine continuing on its course. Curving slightly to the left the Pfalz circled a little to the south and the next minute crashed onto the ground just at the edge of the woods a mile inside their own lines. I had brought down my first enemy aeroplane and had not been subjected to a single shot. . . .

A time later six of my Spads were following me in a morning's patrol over the enemy's line in the vicinity of Rheims. We were well along towards the front when we discovered a number of aeroplanes far above us and somewhat behind our side of the lines. While we made a circle or two, all the while steadily

climbing for higher altitude, we observed the darting machines above us exchanging shots at one another. Suddenly the fracas developed into a regular free-for-all.

Reaching a slightly higher altitude at a distance of a mile or two to the east of the mêlée, I collected my formation and headed about for the attack. Just then I noticed that one side had evidently been victorious. Seven aeroplanes remained together in compact formation. The others had streaked it away, each man for himself.

As we drew nearer we saw that the seven conquerors were in fact enemy machines. There was no doubt about it. They were Fokkers. Their opponents, whether American, French or British, had been scattered and had fled. The Fokkers had undoubtedly seen our approach and had very wisely decided to keep their formation together rather than separate to pursue their former antagonists. They were climbing to keep my squad ever a little below them, while they decided upon their next move.

We were seven and they were seven. It was a lovely morning with clear visibility, and all my pilots, I knew, were keen for a fight. I looked over the skies and discovered no reason why we shouldn't take them on at any terms they might require. Accordingly I set our course a little steeper and continued straight on towards them.

The Spad is a better climber than the Fokker. Evidently the Boche pilots opposite us knew this fact.

Suddenly the last four in their formation left their line of flight and began to draw away in the direction of Soissons—still climbing. The three Fokkers in front continued towards us for another minute or two. When we were separated by less than a quarter of a mile the three Heinies decided that they had done enough for their country, and putting down their noses, they began a steep dive for their lines.

To follow them was so obvious a thing to do that I began at once to speculate upon what this maneuver meant to them. The four rear Fokkers were well away by now, but the moment we began to dive after the three ahead of us they would doubtless be prompt to turn and select a choice position behind our tails. Very well! We would bank upon this expectation of theirs and make our plans accordingly!

We were at about 17,000 feet altitude. The lines were almost directly under us. Following the three retreating Fokkers at our original level, we soon saw them disappear well back into Germany. Now for the wily four that were probably still climbing for altitude!

Arriving over Fismes I altered our course and pointed it towards Soissons, and as we flew we gained an additional thousand feet. Exactly upon the scheduled time we perceived approaching us the four Fokkers who were now satisfied that they had us at a disadvantage and might either attack or escape, as they desired. They were, however, at precisely the same altitude at which we were now flying.

Wigwagging my wings as a signal for the attack, I sheered slightly to the north of them to cut off their retreat. They either did not see my maneuver or else they thought we were friendly aeroplanes, for they came on dead ahead like a flock of silly geese. At two hundred yards I began firing.

Not until we were within fifty yards of each other did the Huns show any signs of breaking. I had singled out the flight leader and had him nicely within my sights, when he suddenly piqued downwards, the rest of his formation immediately following him. At the same instant one of my guns—the one having a double feed—hopelessly jammed. And after a burst of twenty shots or so from the other gun it likewise failed me! There was no time to pull away for repairs!

Both my guns were useless. For an instant I considered the advisability of withdrawing while I tried to free the jam. But the opportunity was too good to lose. The pilots behind me would be thrown into some confusion when I signaled them to carry on without me. And moreover the enemy pilots would quickly discover my trouble and would realize that the flight leader was out of the fight. I made up my mind to go through with the fracas without guns and trust to luck to see the finish. The next instant we were ahead of the quartet and were engaged in a furious dog-fight.

Every man was for himself. The Huns were excellent pilots and seemed to be experienced fighters.

Time and again I darted into a good position behind or below a tempting target, with the sole result of compelling the Fritz to alter his course and get out of his position of supposed danger. If he had known I was unarmed he would have had me at his mercy. As it was I would no sooner get into a favorable position behind him than he would double about and the next moment I found myself compelled to look sharp to my own safety.

In this manner the whole revolving circus went tumbling across the heavens—always dropping lower and steadily traveling deeper into the German lines. Two of my pilots had abandoned the scrap and turned homewards. Engines or guns had failed them. When at last we had fought down to 3,000 feet and were some four miles behind their lines, I observed two flights of enemy machines coming up from the rear to their rescue. We had none of us secured a single victory—but neither had the Huns. Personally I began to feel a great longing for home. I dashed out ahead of the foremost Spad and frantically wig-wagging him to attention I turned my little 'bus towards our lines. With a feeling of great relief I saw that all four were following me and that the enemy reënforcements were not in any position to dispute our progress.

# HOW THE ARMISTICE WAS NEGOTIATED AND SIGNED

*By Marshals von Hindenburg and Foch, and Eye-Witnesses*

## HINDENBURG TO FOCH

*Telegraphic wireless dispatch received by Marshal Foch at 12:30 a.m. on November 7, 1918.*

*AT 5 a.m. November 11, 1918, the Armistice was signed in the Forest of Compiègne, and Marshal Foch at once ordered the cessation of hostilities at 11 a.m. that day. Here are the preliminary telegrams that passed between Marshals Hindenburg and Foch, also an account of the arrival at the French outpost of the first German emissary, then of the German delegates as seen by a British correspondent, followed by the statement of one of the German delegates, bitterly lamenting the harshness of the terms dictated by the victors.*

*Based upon President Wilson's "Fourteen Points," the terms of the Armistice were designed to deprive Germany of all military and naval strength. The German delegates delayed signing the severe death warrant to the German Empire until the hopelessness of their case became convincing.*

GERMAN General Headquarters to the Allies' General Headquarters; the German Commander-in-Chief to Marshal Foch: The German Government, having been informed through the President of the United States that Marshal Foch had received powers to receive accredited representatives of the German Government and communicate to them conditions of an armistice, the following plenipotentiaries have been named by it: Mathias Erzberger, General H. K. A. von Winterfeldt, Count Alfred von Oberndorff, General von Grünnel, and Naval Captain von Salow.

The plenipotentiaries request that they be informed by wireless of the place where they can meet Marshal Foch. They will proceed by automobile, with subordinates of the staff, to the place thus appointed.

FOCH TO HINDENBURG

*Telegraphic wireless response sent out at 1:30 a.m.*

To the German Commander-in-Chief: If the German plenipotentiaries desire to meet Marshal Foch and ask him for an armistice, they will present themselves to the French outposts by the Chimay-Fourmies-La Capelle-Guise road. Orders have been given to receive them and conduct them to the spot fixed for the meeting.

HINDENBURG TO FOCH

*Telegraphic response received at 1 p.m.*

The German plenipotentiaries for an armistice leave Spa to-day. They will leave here at noon and reach at 5 o'clock this afternoon the French outposts by the Chimay-Fourmies-La Capelle-Guise road. They will be ten persons in all, headed by Secretary of State Erzberger.

*Supplementary telegraphic notice received at 1:50 p.m.*

German General Headquarters to the Allied General Headquarters: The Supreme German Command to Marshal Foch: From the German outposts to the

French outposts our delegation will be accompanied by a road-mending company to enable automobiles to pass the La Capelle road, which has been destroyed.

*Supplementary notice received at 6 p.m.*

The German Supreme Command to Marshal Foch: By reason of delay the German delegation will not be able to cross the outpost line until between 8 and 10 o'clock to-night at Haudroy, two kilometers northeast of La Capelle.

THE COMING OF THE FIRST GERMAN EMISSARY AS REPORTED BY THE FRENCH CAPTAIN AT THE OUTPOST AT CHIMAY.

Notice had reached me that an envoy might arrive and that fire had ceased in our sector. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon a German lieutenant appeared. He was magnificently turned out and magnificently mounted, and had an escort of two men. I met him about a hundred yards in front of our lines, and he wished me to go back with him to meet the plenipotentiaries. I told him I could not leave my command; and at first he made some demur, the idea of those with him being that a French officer should accompany the plenipotentiaries from the other side of the line. I assured him there would be no firing in the sector, that the plenipotentiaries could cross the line in safety, and that I would receive them at my post of command.

"This gentleman is an officer," he said to the men with him, "and as an officer I can accept and trust his word." Five o'clock was the time fixed for the arrival of the delegates, but at that hour no one arrived, the mission, as is known, actually making their appearance considerably later in the evening, when they at once proceeded on their way.

### Arrival of the German delegates as seen by a British Correspondent

The roads were a mass of mud, motor-cars of all sorts were ranged by the side of the main street, and the German plenipotentiaries were temporarily halted because of a break-down to a motor lorry in the road in the front of them. There were seven cars in all, two of them belonging to French Headquarters and five being German. The plenipotentiaries must have halted for nearly half an hour, and certain members of the junior staff attached to them got down while the details of a fresh route to be followed were discussed by them with the French officers by whom they were being escorted.

The senior members remained in the cars, invisible in darkness. Those we saw were of the typical officer class, clean-shaven and almost aggressively self-contained. For the most part they were silent, but occasionally they talked in low tones.

On the pavement by the houses there was a continual movement of French soldiers. No guard was round the cars, for any sort of guard was entirely

unnecessary. There was not a single individual among the two or three hundred men present who even moved forward to catch a glimpse of the mission. There was no question as to any one doubting their identity, for the cars bore on their panels the crest of the Black Eagle.

The demeanor of the French soldier was typical of the high standard of courtesy set by Marshal Foch. Both army and nation realized that with Marshal Foch in command the terms of the Armistice were in absolutely safe hands, as he had abundantly shown that he had taken to the full such measures as the situation required. He insisted, however, that every detail of the transaction should be conducted in absolute privacy, and there was not present at the historic meeting a single representative of the French or Allied press.

### Statement by one of the German delegates

When on November 5 we left Spa in motor cars and reached the French lines we found enemy carriages already waiting to take us to the unknown scene of negotiations. This motor tour with the French officers lasted ten hours, and it appears likely was intentionally prolonged in order to drive us all over the devastated province and prepare us by what we saw for what was shortly to be put before us in the way of hatred and revenge in the extremely severe Armistice conditions. Now and again a

Frenchman pointed silently to heaps of ruins, or mentioned a name, "Voila St. Quentin." In the evening, wherever it was a train stood ready for us. The windows of the carriages were curtained, and when we awoke the next morning the train stood in the midst of a wood.

We know now that the negotiations took place in the forest of Compiègne, but a week ago we knew nothing. Perhaps it was a measure of precaution, even for our sakes, that we were taken through no town. Perhaps acts of violence were feared on the part of the population, for the hatred for us among them is boundless. The wood was evidently barred by troops to all comers. There were no houses and no tents. On the railway line stood two trains, one occupied by Marshal Foch and his people, the other by ours.

Here for three days we lived, worked, and deliberated. This seems to be the modern form of such negotiations. The castles and fortresses of olden times have gone, even for such purposes. The train with its sleeping-rooms, drawing-rooms, and dining cars was very comfortable, and we were provided with everything we wanted. The officer who had charge of the train had us supplied, and the conduct of the numerous guards who stood around was beyond reproach.

But all the hostility and the fullness of hate for our country that seems now to be cherished in France came to expression in the form of negotiations, as

well as in the terrible nature of the conditions. Those of us who were soldiers wore uniforms and the Iron Cross. The introduction of the half-dozen French officers who conducted the negotiations with us "in plenum" and the greetings were of the coldest.

Foch, who showed himself only twice—at the opening and at the end—gave us no word of the particular politeness that in earlier times distinguished the most chivalrous nation in the world, and his officers just as little. He received us with the words, "Qu'est ce que vous desirez, messieurs?" and invited us into his business car, furnished with tables and maps. As each was to speak his own language and everything was translated, the reading of the conditions alone occupied nearly two hours. It was moreover a discovery when Foch answered that there were to be no negotiations, and only dictated matter. Altogether, with all his coldness, he was by no means so tactless and brusque as was General d'Espery at Belgrade.

Then we retired to our train, which stood on the other line. As we had been sent by the old Government, and had certainly not been authorized to sign everything without conditions, we proceeded, at the instance of Erzberger, to divide the various points under three heads, military, naval and diplomatic, and discussed them separately with the members of the enemy commissions, which consisted only of officers. Military Germany thus, with two civilians, stood face to face with now completely militarized France. The

enemy maintained, in the persons of all his representatives, the same objective; their coldness was mitigated by no single word that bordered upon the human, as had marked our reception by the Marshal. The English Admiral adopted the tone of the French, and only from Foch's Chief of the General Staff, who bore the Alsatian name of Weygandt, did we perhaps receive any greater politeness.

During our two days' proceedings there was really no negotiation, and we could only try to obtain concessions on various conditions. For when the enemy demanded delivery of 160 U-boats we could only point out the technical impossibility, as we had not 160 to give. This demand had to be changed into the formula, "all U-boats." The chief point was that of food, and of this we were in a certain measure able to obtain assurance.

In the meantime, in this lonely wood, with its two railway trains, we were cut off from all intercourse with the outside world. Foch himself went off twice to Paris, and couriers were able in two hours to arrive with the papers. Thus it was possible for the enemy on Sunday, early, to hand us the Paris newspapers with the abdication of the Kaiser. We read no laughter, no triumph, in their faces. Immediately before the close of the second and last plenary sitting we placed before the enemy in the German language our protest against the treaty, but in the end we had to sign.

# THE TERMS OF THE ARMISTICE

*Official Text Translation*

## I.—Military Clauses on Western Front

*STRICTLY speaking, this document signed by Marshal Foch for France, Wemyss for England, and Secretary of State Erzberger, together with Oberndorff, Winterfeldt and von Salow for Germany, is less of an armistice to suspend hostilities than a surrender. It contains not only advance statements of the peace terms to be incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles, and of acts of submission demanded of Germany, but it embodies temporary arrangements for the government of occupied territory.*

*Incidental to its demand for the surrender of war materials, some delay in the negotiations was occasioned by a clause specifying the surrender of 160 U-boats. The Germans not having that many to give, the clause was changed to read "all U-boats." No mention is made of German demobilization, as the war-worn Boches were hurrying home, and the new government was only too glad to reduce an army it could neither pay nor control.*

ONE—Cessation of operations by land and in the air six hours after the signature of the Armistice.

Two—Immediate evacuation of invaded countries: Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg, so ordered as to be completed within fourteen days from the signature of the Armistice. German troops which have not left the above-mentioned territories within the period fixed will become prisoners of war. Occupation by the Allied and United States forces jointly will keep pace with evacuation in these areas. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated in accordance with a note annexed to the stated terms.

Three—Repatriation beginning at once to be completed within fifteen days of all the inhabitants of the countries above enumerated (including hostages, persons under trial or convicted).

Four—Surrender in good condition by the German armies of the following war material: Five thousand guns (2,500 heavy, and 2,500 field), 25,000 machine guns, 3,000 minenwerfer, 1,700 airplanes (fighters, bombers—firstly, all of the D 7's and all the night bombing machines). The above to be delivered in situ to the Allied and United States troops in accordance with the detailed conditions laid down in the note (annexure No. 1) drawn up at the moment of the signing of the Armistice.

Five—Evacuation by the German armies of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. The countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local troops of occupation. The occupation of these territories will be carried out by Allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine (Mayence, Coblenz, Cologne), together with the bridgeheads at these points of a thirty-kilometer radius on the right bank and by garrisons similarly holding the strategic points of the regions. A neutral zone shall be reserved on the right bank of the Rhine betwen the stream and a line drawn parallel to the bridgeheads and to the stream and at a distance of ten kilometers, from the frontier of Holland up to the frontier of Switzerland. The evacuation by the enemy of the Rhinelands (left and

right bank) shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of sixteen days, in all, thirty-one days after the signing of the Armistice. All the movements of evacuation or occupation are regulated by the note (annexure No. 1) drawn up at the moment of the signing of the Armistice.

Six—In all territories evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants; no damage or harm shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants. No person shall be prosecuted for offenses of participation in war measures prior to the signing of the Armistice. No destruction of any kind shall be committed. Military establishments of all kinds shall be delivered intact, as well as military stores of food, munitions and equipment, not removed during the time fixed for evacuation. Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, etc., shall be left in situ. Industrial establishments shall not be impaired in any way and their personnel shall not be removed.

Seven—Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroads, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs, telephones, shall be in no manner impaired. All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall remain. Five thousand locomotives and 150,000 wagons in good working order, with all necessary spare parts and fittings, shall be delivered to the associated powers within the period fixed in annexure No. 2, and total of which shall not exceed thirty-one days. There shall likewise be de-

livered 5,000 motor lorries (camion automobiles) in good order, within the period of thirty-six days. The railways of Alsace-Lorraine shall be handed over within the period of thirty-one days, together with pre-war personnel and material. Further, the material necessary for the working of railways in the countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be left in situ. All stores of coal and material for the upkeep of permanent ways, signals and repair shops shall be left in situ. These stores shall be maintained by Germany in so far as concerns the working of the railroads in the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. All barges taken from the Allies shall be restored to them. The note, annexure No. 2, regulates the details of these measures.

Eighth—The German command shall be responsible for revealing within the period of forty-eight hours after signing of the Armistice all mines or delayed action fuses on territory evacuated by the German troops and shall assist in their discovery and destruction. It also shall reveal all destructive measures that may have been taken (such as poisoning or polluting of springs and wells, etc.). All under penalty of reprisals.

Nine—The right of requisition shall be exercised by the Allied and United States armies in all occupied territories, subject to regulation of accounts with those whom it may concern. The upkeep of the troops of occupation in the Rhineland (excluding

Alsace-Lorraine) shall be charged to the German Government.

Ten—The immediate repatriation without reciprocity, according to detailed conditions which shall be fixed, of all Allied and United States prisoners of war, including person under trial or convicted. The Allied powers and the United States shall be able to dispose of them as they wish. This condition annuls the previous conventions on the subject of exchange of prisoners of war, including the one of July, 1918, in course of ratification. However, the repatriation of German prisoners of war interned in Holland and in Switzerland shall continue as before. The repatriation of German prisoners of war shall be regulated at the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace.

Eleven—Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by German personnel, who will be left on the spot with the medical material required.

### II.—Disposition Relative to the Eastern Frontiers of Germany

Twelve—All German troops at present in the territories which before belonged to Austria-Hungary, Rumania, Turkey, shall withdraw immediately within the frontiers of Germany as they existed on August First, Nineteen Fourteen. All German troops at present in the territories which before the war belonged to Russia shall likewise withdraw within the

frontiers of Germany, defined as above, as soon as the Allies, taking into account the internal situation of these territories, shall decide that the time for this has come.

Thirteen—Evacuation by German troops to begin at once, and all German instructors, prisoners and civilians as well as military agents now on the territory of Russia (as defined before 1914) to be recalled.

Fourteen—German troops to cease at once all requisitions and seizures and any other undertaking with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany in Rumania and Russia (as defined on August 1, 1914).

Fifteen—Renunciation of the treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Ltovsk and of the supplementary treaties.

Sixteen—The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their eastern frontier, either through Danzig, or by the Vistula, in order to convey supplies to the populations of those territories and for the purpose of maintaining order.

### III.—Clause Concerning East Africa

Seventeen—Evacuation by all German forces operating in East Africa within a period to be fixed by the Allies.

### IV.—General Clauses

Eighteen—Repatriation, without reciprocity, within a maximum period of one month in accordance with detailed conditions hereafter to be fixed of all interned civilians, including hostages under trial or convicted, belonging to the Allied or associated powers other than those enumerated in Article Three.

Nineteen—The following financial conditions are required: Reparation for damage done. While such Armistice lasts no public securities shall be removed by the enemy which can serve as a pledge to the Allies for the recovery or reparation for war losses. Immediate restitution of the cash deposit in the national bank of Belgium, and in general immediate return of all documents, specie, stocks, shares, paper money, together with plant for the issue thereof, touching public or private interests in the invaded countries. Restitution of the Russian and Rumanian gold yielded to Germany or taken by that power.

This gold to be delivered in trust to the Allies until the signature of peace.

### V.—Naval Conditions

Twenty—Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all German ships. Notification to be given to neutrals that freedom of navi-

gation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and associated powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

Twenty-one—All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of the Allied and associated powers in German hands to be returned without reciprocity.

Twenty-two—Surrender to the Allies and United States of all submarines (including submarine cruisers and all mine-laying submarines) now existing, with their complete armament and equipment, in ports which shall be specified by the Allies and United States. Those which cannot take the sea shall be disarmed of the personnel and material and shall remain under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. The submarines which are ready for the sea shall be prepared to leave the German ports as soon as orders shall be received by wireless for their voyage to the port designated for their delivery, and the remainder at the earliest possible moment. The conditions of this article shall be carried into effect within the period of fourteen days after the signing of the Armistice.

Twenty-three—German surface warships which shall be designated by the Allies and the United States shall be immediately disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports or in default of them in Allied ports to be designated by the Allies and the United States. They will there remain under the supervision of the Allies and of the United States, only caretakers being left on board. The following war-

ships are designated by the Allies: Six battle cruisers, ten battleships, eight light cruisers (including two mine layers), fifty destroyers of the most modern types. All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in German naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States and are to be completely disarmed and classed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. The military armament of all ships of the auxiliary fleet shall be put on shore. All vessels designated to the interned shall be ready to leave the German ports seven days after the signing of the Armistice. Directions for the voyage will be given by wireless.

Twenty-four—The Allies and the United States of America shall have the right to sweep up all mine fields and obstructions laid by Germany outside German territorial waters, and the positions of these are to be indicated.

Twenty-five—Freedom of access to and from the Baltic to be given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and associated powers. To secure this the Allies and United States of America shall be empowered to occupy all German forts, fortifications, batteries, and defense works of all kinds in the entrances from the Cattegat into the Baltic, and to sweep up all mines and obstructions within and without German territorial waters, without any question of neutrality being raised, and the positions of all such mines and obstructions are to be indicated.

Twenty-six—The existing blockade conditions set up by the Allied and associated powers are to remain unchanged, and all German merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture. The Allies and the United States should give consideration to the provisioning of Germany during the Armistice to the extent recognized as necessary.

Twenty-seven—All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilized in German bases to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America.

Twenty-eight—In evacuating the Belgian coast and ports Germany shall abandon in situ and in fact all port and river navigation material, all merchant ships, tugs, lighters, all naval aëronautic apparatus, material and supplies, and all arms, apparatus and supplies of every kind.

Twenty-nine—All Black Sea ports are to be evacuated by Germany; all Russian war vessels of all descriptions seized by Germany in the Black Sea are to be handed over to the Allies and the United States of America; all neutral merchant vessels seized are to be released; all warlike and other materials of all kinds seized in those ports are to be returned and German materials as specified in Clause Twenty-eight are to be abandoned.

Thirty—All merchant vessels in German hands belonging to the Allied and associated powers are to be restored in ports to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America without reciprocity.

Thirty-one—No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender, or restoration.

Thirty-two—The German Government will notify the neutral Governments of the world, and particularly the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, that all restrictions placed on the trading of their vessels with the Allied and associated countries, whether by the German Government or by private German interests, and whether in return for specific concessions, such as the export of shipbuilding materials, or not, are immediately canceled.

Thirty-three—No transfers of German merchant shipping of any description to any neutral flag are to take place after signature of the Armistice.

### VI.—Duration of Armistice

Thirty-four—The duration of the Armistice is to be thirty days, with option to extend. During this period if its clauses are not carried into execution the Armistice may be denounced by one of the contracting parties, which must give warning forty-eight hours in advance. It is understood that the execution of Articles 3 and 18 shall not warrant the denunciation of the Armistice on the ground of insufficient execution within a period fixed, except in the case of bad faith in carrying them into execution. In order to assure the execution of this convention under the best conditions, the principle of a permanent in-

ternational Armistice commission is admitted. This commission will act under the authority of the Allied military and naval Commanders in Chief.

### VII.—The Limit for Reply

Thirty-five—This Armistice to be accepted or refused by Germany within seventy-two hours of notification.

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This Armistice has been signed the Eleventh of November, Nineteen Eighteen, at 5 o'clock French time.

F. Foch.
R. E. Wemyss.
Erzberger.
A. Oberndorff.
Winterfeldt.
Von Salow.

# PRESIDENT WILSON ACCLAIMS THE ARMISTICE

*In an Address to Congress*

*HAVING, on January 8, 1918, outlined the "Fourteen Points" upon which the terms of the Armistice were based, President Wilson was elated when, early on the morning of November 11 following, he was notified that the Armistice had been signed and that the Great War was at an end. He promptly prepared the accompanying address to Congress, and on November 17 issued the ensuing Thanksgiving Proclamation.*

*It will be noted that President Wilson, in the first hour of victory, cautions the victors against committing excesses, reminding them, as well as Congress, that "To conquer with arms is to make only a temporary conquest; to conquer the world by earning its esteem is to make permanent conquest." At the same time, "Armed imperialism such as the men conceived who were but yesterday the masters of Germany is at an end, its illicit ambitions engulfed in black disaster."*

THE war thus comes to an end; for, having accepted these terms of Armistice, it will be impossible for the German command to renew it.

It is not now possible to assess the consequences of this great consummation. We know only that this tragical war, whose consuming flames swept from one nation to another until all the world was on fire, is at an end and that it was the privilege of our own people to enter it at its most critical juncture in such fashion and in such force as to contribute, in a way of which we are all deeply proud, to the great result. We know, too that the object of the war is attained; the object upon which

all free men had set their hearts; and attained with a sweeping completeness which even now we do not realize. Armed imperialism such as the men conceived who were but yesterday the masters of Germany is at an end, its illicit ambitions engulfed in black disaster. Who will now seek to revive it?

The arbitrary power of the military caste of Germany, which once could secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world, is discredited and destroyed. And more than that—much more than that—has been accomplished. The great nations which associated themselves to destroy it have now definitely united in the common purpose to set up such a peace as will satisfy the longing of the whole world for disinterested justice, embodied in settlements which are based upon something much better and more lasting than the selfish competitive interests of powerful States. There is no longer conjecture as to the objects the victors have in mind. They have a mind in the matter, not only, but a heart also. Their avowed and concerted purpose is to satisfy and protect the weak as well as to accord their just rights to the strong.

The humane temper and intention of the victorious Governments have already been manifested in a very practical way. Their representatives in the Supreme War Council at Versailles have by unanimous resolution assured the peoples of the Central Empires that every thing that is possible in the circumstances will be done to supply them with food and relieve

the distressing want that is in so many places threatening their very lives; and steps are to be taken immediately to organize these efforts at relief in the same systematic manner that they were organized in the case of Belgium. By the use of the idle tonnage of the Central Empires it ought presently to be possible to lift the fear of utter misery from their oppressed populations and set their minds and energies free for the great and hazardous tasks of political reconstruction which now face them on every hand. Hunger does not breed reform; it breeds madness and all the ugly distempers that make an ordered life impossible.

For with the fall of the ancient Governments, which rested like an incubus on the people of the Central Empires, has come political change not merely, but revolution; and revolution which seems as yet to assume no final and ordered form, but to run from one fluid change to another, until thoughtful men are forced to ask themselves, With what Governments and of what sort are we about to deal in the making of the covenants of peace?

With what authority will they meet us, and with what assurance that their authority will abide and sustain securely the international arrangements into which we are about to enter? There is here matter for no small anxiety and misgiving. When peace is made, upon whose promises and engagements besides our own is it to rest?

Let us be perfectly frank with ourselves and admit that these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered now or at once. But the moral is not that there is little hope of an early answer that will suffice. It is only that we must be patient and helpful and mindful above all of the great hope and confidence that lie at the heart of what is now taking place. Excesses accomplish nothing. Unhappy Russia has furnished abundant recent proof of that. Disorder immediately defeats itself. If excesses should occur, if disorder should for a time raise its head, a sober second thought will follow and a day of constructive action, if we help and do not hinder.

The present and all that it holds belong to the nations and the peoples who preserve their self-control and the orderly processes of their Governments; the future to those who prove themselves the true friends of mankind. To conquer with arms is to make only a temporary conquest; to conquer the world by earning its esteem is to make permanent conquest. I am confident that the nations that have learned the discipline of freedom and that have settled with self-possession to its ordered practice are now about to make conquest of the world by the sheer power of example and of friendly helpfulness.

The peoples who have but just come out from under the yoke of arbitrary government and who are now coming at last into their freedom will never find the treasures of liberty they are in search of if they look for them by the light of the torch. They

will find that every pathway that is stained with the blood of their own brothers leads to the wilderness, not to the seat of their hope. They are now face to face with their initial test. We must hold the light steady until they find themselves. And in the meantime, if it be possible, we must establish a peace that will justly define their place among the nations, remove all fear of their neighbors and of their former masters, and enable them to live in security and contentment when they have set their own affairs in order. I, for one, do not doubt their purpose or capacity. There are some happy signs that they know and will choose the way of self-control and peaceful accommodation. If they do, we shall put our aid at their disposal in every way that we can. If they do not, we must await with patience and sympathy the awakening and recovery that will assuredly come at last.

### The President's Thanksgiving Proclamation of November 17, 1918

It has long been our custom to turn in the autumn of the year in praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for His many blessings and mercies to us as a nation. This year we have special and moving cause to be grateful and to rejoice. God has in His good pleasure given us peace. It has not come as a mere cessation of arms, a relief from the strain and tragedy of war. It has come as a great triumph of Right.

Complete victory has brought us, not peace alone, but the confident promise of a new day as well, in which justice shall replace force and jealous intrigue among the nations. Our gallant armies have participated in a triumph which is not marred or stained by any purpose of selfish aggression. In a righteous cause they have won immortal glory and have nobly served their nation in serving mankind. God has indeed been gracious. We have cause for such rejoicing as revives and strengthens in us all the best traditions of our national history. A new day shines about us, in which our hearts take new courage and look forward with new hope to new and greater duties.

While we render thanks for these things, let us not forget to seek the Divine guidance in the performance of those duties, and Divine mercy and forgiveness for all errors of act or purpose, and pray that in all that we do we shall strengthen the ties of friendship and mutual respect upon which we must assist to build the new structure of peace and goodwill among the nations.

# WRECKING THE GERMAN NAVY UNDER THE ARMISTICE

*By Commander Charles G. Gill, U. S. N.*

*AN example of the manner in which the terms of the Armistice were enforced is given in this account by Commander Gill of the disposition of the German sea-power. The Naval conditions provided first, that all submarines be surrendered; second, that designated surface warships be disarmed and interned, and third, that all other surface warships be disarmed and placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States of America.*

*Of 441 submarines built and laid down by Germany, 343 were built during the war and 70 were being built when it ended. 135 were surrendered and 96 were broken up in Germany.*

*Of the German capital ships here enumerated as being interned at Scapa Flow during the latter part of November and early December, 1918, a majority were sunk by their own crews, June 28, 1919, to the small regret of the Allies.*

SEVENTY ships of the German Navy—five battle-cruisers, nine battleships, seven light cruisers, and forty-nine destroyers—were interned on November 21 [1918] at Rosyth. One battleship, one battle-cruiser, one light cruiser were short of the numbers named in the Armistice terms. The number of capital ships interned was brought up to sixteen by the inclusion of eleven battleships and five battle-cruisers. On the 22nd the enemy ships set out under a strong escort for Scapa Flow, where they were to remain until the Peace Treaty decided their fate.

At 11:00 a.m. on the 21st Admiral Beatty made a signal by wireless to the German Admiral:—"The

German flag will be hauled down at sunset to-day (Thursday), and will not be hoisted again without permission." This order was complied with by the Germans, but on the following day Rear-Admiral von Reuter from the "Friedrich der Grosse" issued a protest to Admiral Beatty:—

> "You ordered by wireless of November 21st that the German flag, after being hauled down at sunset, was not to be hoisted again without special permission. On November 21st I urgently requested the Chief of the Staff of Admiral Madden that this order should be canceled, as the German ships have flown their flags honorably. I have not yet received an answer.
>
> "According to the terms of the Armistice, the ships were to be interned in neutral harbors or in harbors of the Allies. As far as I know, during internment in neutral harbors during this war and former wars flags have always remained hoisted. Had I been interned in a neutral harbor this would have been the case. Neutral harbors and harbors of the Allies are absolutely parallel, according to the literal conditions of the Armistice and to the sense of the conditions of internment.
>
> "Therefore, I esteem it unjustifiable and contradictory to international custom to order the striking of the war flags in the German ships. In addition, I am of opinion that the order to strike the flag is not in keeping with the idea of chivalry between honorable opponents. I therefore now enter an emphatic protest against this order."

The Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet made the following reply:—

> "Your protest against my order regarding the flying of German colors is noted. I would draw your attention to the fact that an Armistice suspends hostilities and that a state of war still exists between Germany and the Allies. Under the circumstances no enemy vessel can be permitted to fly the national ensign in British ports while under custody."

On November 20 twenty German submarines came to surrender to the British squadrons and flotillas under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir Reginald Tyrwhitt off the Suffolk Coast. The submarines were acompanied by two German transports, the "Tibania" and "Sierra Ventana," which were to take the submarine crews back to Germany. All the crews of the British ships were at their quarters, and with the U-boats in charge proceeded toward Harwich. About 20 miles off the port the ships anchored and British crews were put on board the German vessels to take them into harbor. As the boats went through the gates the White Ensign was hoisted over each German flag. On November 21 nineteen of the submarines, one having broken down on the way, surrendered to the British naval forces. On November 22 twenty more submarines were surrendered, and on November 25 a further twenty-eight U-boats arrived.

# THE KAISER ABDICATES AND APOLOGIZES IN EXILE

*By William II, of Germany*

*THIS initial document, dated Amerongen, Holland, November 28, 1918, and published in Berlin, November 30, is the actual abdication issued by the former Kaiser from his first place of exile on Dutch soil. Supplementing it is his apologetic explanation, taken from his "Memoirs," by permission of Harper & Brothers, of his reasons for fleeing from Germany.*

*Two days before the Armistice was signed, Prince Maximilian of Baden, officiating as Chancellor, had published for William II an unsigned but authorized abdication. Neither the Kaiser nor the Crown Prince were then ready to confess personal guilt and military failure. However, the Kaiser's explanation that he fled because it would have been foolhardy and of no benefit to the Fatherland for him to remain is supported by Hindenburg in a statement made in March 1919.*

*As a farewell gesture, the Kaiser approved the new Socialist Chancellor Frederick Ebert.*

BY the present document I renounce forever my rights to the crown of Prussia and the rights to the German imperial crown. I release at the same time all the officials of the German Empire and Prussia and also all officers, noncommissioned officers and soldiers of the Prussian Navy and Army and of contingents from confederated States from the oath of fidelity they have taken to me, as their Emperor, King, and supreme chief.

I expect from them until a new organization of the German Empire exists that they will aid those who effectively hold the power in Germany to

protect the German people against the menacing dangers of anarchy, famine, and foreign domination.

Made and executed and signed by our own hand with the imperial seal at Amerongen, November 28 (1918).

WILHELM

* * * *

For thirty years the army was my pride. For it I lived, upon it I labored. And now, after four and a half brilliant years of war with unprecedented victories, it was forced to collapse by the stab in the back from the dagger of the revolutionists, at the very moment when peace was within reach!

And the fact that it was in my proud navy, my creation, that there was first open rebellion, cut me most deeply to the heart.

There has been much talk about my having abandoned the army and gone to neutral foreign parts.

Some say the Emperor should have gone to some regiment at the front, hurled himself with it upon the enemy, and sought death in one last attack. That, however, would not only have rendered impossible the Armistice, ardently desired by the nation, concerning which the commission sent from Berlin to General Foch was already negotiating, but would also have meant the useless sacrifice of the lives of many soldiers—of some of the very best and most faithful, in fact.

Others say the Emperor should have returned home at the head of the army. But a peaceful return was no longer possible; the rebels had already seized the Rhine bridges and other important points in the rear of the army. I could, to be sure, have forced my way back at the head of loyal troops taken from the fighting front; but by so doing, I should have put the finishing touch to Germany's collapse, since, in addition to the struggle with the enemy, who would certainly have pressed forward in pursuit, civil war would also have ensued.

Still others say the Emperor should have killed himself. That was made impossible by my firm Christian beliefs. And would not people have exclaimed:

"How cowardly! Now he shirks all responsibility by committing suicide!" This alternative was also eliminated because I had to consider how to be of help and use to my people and my country in the evil time that was to be foreseen.

I knew also that I was particularly called upon to champion the cause of my people in the clearing up of the question of war guilt—which was disclosing itself more and more as the pivotal point in our future destiny—since I, better than anyone else, could bear witness to Germany's desire for peace and to our clean conscience.

After unspeakably arduous soul struggles, and following the most urgent advice of my counselors of the highest rank who were present at the moment, I

decided to leave the country, since, in view of the reports made to me, I must needs believe that, by so doing, I should most faithfully serve Germany, make possible better armistice and peace terms for her, and spare her further loss of human lives, distress and misery. . . .

When the Entente's demand that I and the German army leaders should be surrendered for trial before Entente tribunals became known, I immediately asked myself whether I could be of use to my fatherland by giving myself up before the German people and the German Government had expressed themselves regarding this demand. It was clear to me that, in the opinion of the Entente, such a surrender would so seriously shake the prestige of Germany, as a state and people, for all time, that we could never again take our place, with equal rights, equal dignity, and equal title to alliances, in the first rank of nations, where we belonged.

I recognized it as my duty not to sacrifice the honor and dignity of Germany. The question resolved itself in deciding whether there was any way to give myself up which might benefit the German nation and not subject it to the above-mentioned disadvantages. Were there such a way I should have been ready without hesitation to add another sacrifice to those already made.

The question of my giving myself up has also been debated—as I know—in well-meaning and earnest German circles. Wherever this was due to psycholo-

gical depression or failure to realize the impression which self-chastisement, self-debasement, and fruitless martyrdom in the face of the Entente's demand, cursorily mentioned above, it was in order to arrive at a cleancut decision—in other words, at an emphatic refusal.

It was otherwise with the considerations based upon the assumption that I might, by taking upon myself, before the eyes of the whole world, the responsibility for all important decisions and acts of my Government connected with the war, contribute toward making the fate of the German nation easier. Here was not an act of unpolitical sentimentality, but, on the contrary, a deed which, in my eyes, had much to commend it. The thought that, according to the Constitution of the Empire then in force, not I, but the Chancellor alone as well known—bore the responsibility, would naturally not have bothered me with regard to this.

Had there been even the slightest prospect of bettering Germany's situation by taking such a step, there would have been no possible doubt for me personally as to what I should do. Already I had shown my personal willingness to sacrifice myself when I left the country and gave up the throne of my fathers, because I had been erroneously and deceivingly assured that I could, by so doing, make possible better peace terms for my people and prevent civil war. I should likewise have made this further attempt to help my people, despite the fact that, in the meantime,

one of the considerations in favor of it which have been urged upon me—viz., the prevention of civil war—had already turned out to be false.

There was, however, no possibility of helping the German people by such an act. Surrender of my person would have had no result beyond our obedience to the demand from the Entente that I be given up. For no tribunal in the world can pronounce a just sentence before the state archives of all the nations participating in the war are thrown open, as has been done, and is still being done, by Germany.

Who, after the unprecedented judgment of Versailles, could still summon up optimism enough to believe that the Entente nations would place their secret documents at the disposal of such a tribunal? Therefore, after careful reflection on my part, I gave the decisive importance that was due to the above-mentional dignity and honor, and rejected the idea of giving myself up. It was not for me to play the role of Vercingetorix, who, as is well known, relying upon the magnanimity of his foes, surrendered himself to them in order to obtain a better fate for his people. In view of the conduct of our enemies during the war and in the peace negotiations, it was surely not to be assumed that the Entente would show any greater magnanimity than did Caesar when he threw the noble Gaul into chains, subsequently had him executed, and, in spite of what Vercingetorix had done, enslaved his people just the same.

# THE ALLIES IN THE RHINELAND

*By Gregory Mason, Correspondent with the American Army of Occupation*

*THIS account of the manner in which the armies of occupation governed the Rhineland under the terms of the Armistice was written by an American war correspondent stationed with the American and French armies during the Meuse-Argonne campaign and after the German capitulation. This general survey of the situation existing during the first six months after the Americans occupied Coblenz, with the Britons in Cologne and the French at Mainz or Mayence, is taken from "The Outlook," by permission.*

*Under the terms of the Peace Treaty of June 28, 1919, the temporary occupation of the Rhineland was extended to fifteen years—or more, contingent upon Germany fulfilling every requirement of the Treaty.*

*On December 1, 1918, the American army was the first of the Allied forces to reach its objective—Coblenz. The British crossed from Belgium two days later and the French entered Mainz, December 15, 1918.*

TO disturb existing conditions as little as possible when compatible with the best interest of the general public is the principle which guides the Allies in governing the portions of German territory occupied by their troops under the terms of the Armistice. The known admiration of the Germans for intelligence in the adoption of rules and consistency in the application of them has made the Allies proceed very carefully. It would not do, they think, to issue an ordinance in haste and then be obliged to ignore or change its application, for that would mean to lose face before the people they are governing, so potent is the German reputation for the love of logic and efficiency.

Whether the territory occupied is held by French, British, Belgian or American troops, the administration of it is essentially an inter-Allied matter. Local commanders are allowed a good deal of discretion, but all general principles are determined by reference to an inter-Allied military commission or to Marshal Foch, as the head of the military forces of the Allies. Hence there is a great similarity in the way different sections of occupied Germany are administered, whether they are actually held by French, British, Belgian or Americans. This unity of control is just as valuable in the administration of quasi-conquered territory as it was valuable in the actual prosecution of battles. For instance, the intention is to make the administration of this territory as humane as possible. The Belgians wanted to apply to the Germans the same harsh regulations which the Germans had used on them, but the inter-Allied directorate wisely blocked Belgium's natural desire to have "an eye for an eye."

This whole work of occupation goes through three phases: first, military occupation; second, the seizure of the means of administration; and, third, economic treatment of the occupied regions.

The military occupation is essentially police work. By whatsoever troops, it is performed in pursuance of rules laid down by Marshal Foch. It has followed the same military zones into which the Germans divided the territory now occupied by the Allies.

If Marshal Foch gave the word, the Allied army could advance instantly deep into Germany.

Marshal Foch's police rules are strict but not harsh. They are aimed to protect the people of the occupied zones, and they are softened everywhere as soon as the conduct of the natives justifies such relaxation. For instance, one of the first general rules in all the occupied zones was that the inhabitants must remain indoors from eight o'clock in the evening until six o'clock in the morning, but local commanders were given authority to relax it as they saw fit. When I was in Coblenz, the Americans had already allowed the people an extra hour on the streets in the evening, and at Kaiserlauten the French had postponed curfew until half-past ten. The German gendarmerie is purely local in all the occupied zones, and much use has been made of it. Wherever there were German army officers in positions of responsibility in the gendarmerie, they were removed, the Allied policy being generally to trust local functionaries and to leave them in office whenever they can be used, but to dismiss all officials who were appointed by Berlin.

At first all use of telephones was forbidden to the inhabitants who occupied towns, but this rule has been relaxed also. In the French zone the natives are allowed telephone calls within their own city; while in Coblenz the Americans allow this and also permit the use of five trunk lines from the occupied territory into Germany proper. Thus a German in

Coblenz may talk directly to a German in Berlin. Except in cases of extreme personal necessity, all such calls are supposed to be confined to the transaction of important business, and of course American army censors "listen in" on every call. This privilege was given to the Germans of Coblenz because it was found that the sudden and complete interruption of contact between the two banks of the Rhine caused a great deal of inconvenience and suffering.

The control of mails, like the control of telephones, has been relaxed somewhat already where it seemed safe to do so, and a restricted amount of business correspondence is permitted between the left and right banks of the Rhine. But there has been no softening of the regulations in regard to the press and public meetings. A strict censorship against anti-Ally or pro-Bolshevist articles in the press is maintained, and no public meetings of any kind are tolerated without the permission of the local commandant, the sole exception being in the case of the German churches, which are allowed to hold services as usual. As a matter of fact, through the churches the Germans might carry on not a little propaganda, because the Allies are not so attentive to the utterances of preachers as they might be. But it is doubtful if they are hurting themselves much by this laxity. Indeed, a policy of broad toleration toward the German churches is probably wise. One of the elements most bitter against the French, in particular, has been the German Catholic clergy, who have dis-

trusted the French because of the fame of French liberalism in religious matters and the separation of Church and State in France. In fact, many German Catholic clergymen apparently have thought that all Frenchmen were pagans, and already their press is beginning to express their astonishment at learning that such is not the case.

In approaching the problem of the civil administration of occupied Germany the Allies have, so far as practicable, made use of the existing German civil machinery of government.

The proper judicial and economic measures for occupied Germany are being worked out very carefully. The French are using a number of special technical advisers—French professors, manufacturers, etc. These men are working in commissions appointed to study particular subjects, and are also advising France on what her national economic policy ought to be. Special French economic commissions are with both the Eighth and Tenth French Armies, and are coöperating with a German economic commission. Subdivisions of these commissions are being established at sub-centers throughout the occupied zones.

A good deal of confusion has been caused by the sudden severance of relations between the left and the right banks of the Rhine. For instance, the Court of Appeal for Mayence is at Leipzig, which is outside of the zone of occupation. Therefore the French are arranging to have a special Court of Appeal created

to meet this need. Similarly, some of the ecclesiastical authorities for churches on the left bank of the Rhine live on the right bank, and the Armistice has thus interrupted German church routine.

That part of the left bank which is held by the French is an industrial district whose chief products are coal and coke, and which produces little of its own food. Deprive this region of transportation and it would starve. The French, therefore, are not only sending in food by army truck trains, but are extending railways and Rhine shipping. This region needs raw materials. The French allow these to be brought across the river from Germany, but they are very careful what they allow to go into Germany from the left bank. All applications for the right to ship goods eastward across the river have to be submitted to an inter-Allied commission, and no manufactured articles are permitted to be bought from Germany proper if the same things can be obtained from Belgium or France.

Politics on the left bank of the Rhine are very amusing. The people have no such strong national feeling as the North Germans. This is partly because of a natural provincialism, and partly the result of history. Remember that all the country up to the Rhine was French for a time under Napoleon I., and that some of the country around Saarlouis and Saarbruck was French for a considerable period. Consequently the thought of being parted from the German Empire is not such a shock to the people of these

southern towns as it would be to the people of northern Germany.

It was the Ebert Government with which the Allies concluded the Armistice. They have therefore properly refused to deal with any other Government in Germany. They have disbanded the soviets wherever they have found them and they are not aware that the native population has felt much injured thereby. Before the Allies came into full control various hasty laws were passed by various local German governments. These are disregarded by the Allies, and of the laws and general decrees of the old Imperial Government only those are kept in force which are specifically approved by Foch.

The people of the left bank are waiting on events. They are ready to jump either way. The inhabitants of Saarbruck elected two sets of delegates to the Constituent Assembly. They elected conservative Clerical delegates to represent them in case the French should stay in occupation of their city, and they elected men from the Spartacus or extreme radical wing of Socialism to represent them in case the French should withdraw.

The whole Allied administration of the occupied zones is based on dignity, firmness, and a refusal to fraternize (theoretically at least), coupled with a regard for the best interests of the inhabitants. In fact, so light is the heel of the conqueror on their necks that some Germans do not believe that the Allies are conquerors at all.

# CLEMENCEAU ACCEPTS THE PRESIDENCY OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

*His Opening Address*

*FOLLOWING the arrival in Paris of President Wilson, on January 18, 1919, the first formal session of the Peace Conference was held at the Quai d'Orsay, attended by delegates from all the Ally Powers. Its twofold object was to impose on the Central Powers a proper penalty, in the form of reparations, for having started and so ruthlessly prosecuted the war, and to pave the way for the reconstruction of the world. Germany nor her allies had any voice in the Conference.*

*President Poincaré of France made the inaugural speech, followed by a brief address of President Wilson nominating Georges Clemenceau as President of the Conference, and speeches of British Prime Minister David Lloyd George and Baron Sonnino of Italy seconding the nomination. The first session closed with the accompanying speech of acceptance by the venerable but stalwart French War Premier, then in his seventy-eighth year.*

GENTLEMEN, you would not understand it if, after listening to the words of the two eminent men who have just spoken, I were to keep silent. I cannot elude the necessity of expressing my lively gratitude, my deep gratitude, both to the illustrious President Wilson and to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, as well as to Baron Sonnino, for the words which they have uttered. In the past, in the days of my youth—long ago now, as Mr. Lloyd George has reminded me—when I traveled over America and England, I used always to hear the French blamed for the excess of politeness which led them beyond the boundaries of the truth. Listening to the Ameri-

can statesman and the British statesman, I asked myself whether in Paris they had not acquired our national vice of flattering urbanity.

It is necessary, gentlemen, to point out that my election is due necessarily to lofty international tradition, and to the time-honored courtesy shown towards the country which has the honor to welcome the Peace Conference in its capital. The proofs of "friendship"—as they will allow me to call it—of President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George touched me profoundly, because in these proofs may be seen a new force for all three of us which will enable us, with the help of this entire Conference, to carry through the arduous task entrusted to us. I draw new confidence from it for the success of our efforts.

President Wilson has good authority for his remark that we have here for the first time a collection of delegates from all the civilized peoples of the earth. The greater the sanguinary catastrophe which devastated and ruined one of the richest regions of France, the more ample and more splendid should be the reparation—nor merely the reparation for material acts, the ordinary reparation, if I may venture to say so, which is due to us—but the nobler and loftier reparation we are going to try to secure, so that the peoples may at last escape from this fatal embrace, which, heaping up ruins and sorrows, terrorizes the population and prevents them from devoting themselves freely to their work for fear of the enemies who may spring up at any moment.

It is a great and noble ambition that has come to us all. We must hope that success will crown our efforts. This can only be if we have our ideas clear-cut and well defined.

I said in the Chamber of Deputies some days ago, and I make a point of repeating the statement here, that success is possible only if we remain firmly united. We have come here as friends. We must pass through that door as brothers. That is the first reflection which I am anxious to express to you. Everything must be subordinated to the necessity for a closer and closer union between the peoples which have taken part in this great war. The Society of Nations has its being here, it has its being in you. It is for you to make it live, and for that there is no sacrifice to which we are not ready to consent. I do not doubt that as you are all of this disposition we shall arrive at this result, but only on condition that we exercise impartial pressure on ourselves to reconcile what in appearance may be opposing interests in the higher view of a greater, happier and better humanity. That, gentlemen, is what I have to say to you.

I am touched beyond all expression by the proof of confidence and regard which you have been kind enough to give me. The program of the Conference, the aim marked out by President Wilson, is no longer merely peace for the territories, great and small, with which we are directly concerned; it is no longer merely a peace for the continents, it is peace for the

peoples. This program speaks for itself; there is nothing to be added to it. Let us try, gentlemen, to do our work speedily and well. I am handing to the Bureau the rules of procedure of the Conference, and these will be distributed to you all.

I come now to the order of the day. The first question is as follows: "The responsibility of the authors of the war." The second is thus expressed: "Penalties for crimes committed during the war." The third is: "International legislation in regard to labor."

The Powers whose interests are only in part involved are also invited to send in memoranda in regard to matters of all kinds—territorial, financial, or economic—which affect them particularly. These memoranda should be addressed to the general secretariat of the Conference. This system is somewhat novel. Our desire in asking you to proceed thus is to save time. All the nations represented here are free to present their claims. You will kindly send in these memoranda as speedily as possible, as we shall then get on with the work which we shall submit for your consideration. You can deal with the third question from the standpoint of the organization of labor.

It is a very vast field. But we beg of you to begin by examining the question as to the responsibility of the authors of the war. I do not need to set forth our reasons for this. If we wish to establish justice in the world we can do so now, for we have won

victory and can impose the penalties demanded by justice. We shall insist on the imposition of penalties on the authors of the abominable crimes committed during the war. Has any one any question to ask in regard to this? If not, I would again remind you that every delegation shcuid devote itself to the study of this first question, which has been made the subject of reports by eminent jurists, and of a report which will be sent to you entitled, "An Inquiry into the Criminal Responsibility of the Emperor William II." The perusal of this brochure will, without doubt, facilitate your work. In Great Britain and in America studies on this point have also been published. No one having any remark to make, the program is adopted.

It only remains for me to say, gentlemen, that the order of the day for our next sitting will begin with the question of the Society of Nations. Our order of the day, gentlemen, is now brought to an end. Before closing this sitting, I should like to know whether any delegate of the Powers represented has any question to submit to the Bureau. As we must work in complete agreement, it is desired that members of the Conference shall submit all the observations they consider necessary.

The Bureau will welcome the expression of opinions of all kinds, and will answer all questions addressed to it. No one has anything further to say? The sitting is closed.

# SIGNING THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

*By Harry Hansen, Special American Correspondent*

*THIS pen-picture of the historic scene in the great palace at Versailles, where, June 28, 1919, Germany signed the peace terms dictated by the Allies, is taken from Hansen's "Adventures of the Fourteen Points," by permission of the Century Company, the author having been a special American correspondent at the Peace Conference in Paris. The Treaty had been fully drafted on May 6, but the original German delegation to whom it was handed refused to accept it. There ensued a series of conversations between the Germans and M. Clemenceau, as President of the Conference, which delayed the signing until June 28.*

*The ceremony, as here described, occurred in the very Hall of Mirrors in which William I of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor in 1871. This Treaty of 1919 was made with the German Republic, of which Friedrich Ebert had become first President in February, 1919.*

THE greatest attention had been given to the staging of the culminating event in the Hall of Mirrors. It is a long and narrow room, more like a corridor than a salon. The delegates ascended the marble staircase and passed through what at one time were the apartments of Marie Antoinette to the Salon de la Paix, the Hall of Peace, whence they entered the Hall of Mirrors. At this end of the hall were the chairs for the invited guests. Then came tables for secretaries of certain delegations. Beyond that stood the long horseshoe table that ran along the mirrored side of the hall. At the middle of the table, facing the high embrasured windows, was the place for M. Clemenceau, President of the Con-

ference. To his left, in the direction of the Hall of Peace, were reserved places for the delegates of Great Britain, the British Dominions, and Japan. Here the angle in the table was reached, and then came the places reserved for Germany. There followed the seats of Uruguay, Peru, Panama, Nicaragua, Liberia, Hondurus, Brazil, Haiti, Guatemala, Bolivia and Equador. At the right hand of the President sat the commissioners from the United States. Then came France, Italy and Belgium. Beyond the turn of the table came the places of Greece, Poland, China, Cuba, Rumania, Hedjaz, Siam, Serbia and Czecho-Slovakia. Behind this table were tables for secretaries, and behind them, extending toward the Hall of War, came seats for the representatives of the press of the world. Inside the horseshoe table were smaller tables for secretaries, and a small one before the chairman's place was reserved for the interpreter. In the middle stood the table on which lay the treaty of peace and three other documents to be signed simultaneously with it; the protocol, to be signed also by all the delegates; the Rhine province agreement, to be signed by the five great Powers and Germany; and the Polish treaty, to be signed by the five great Powers, Poland and Germany.

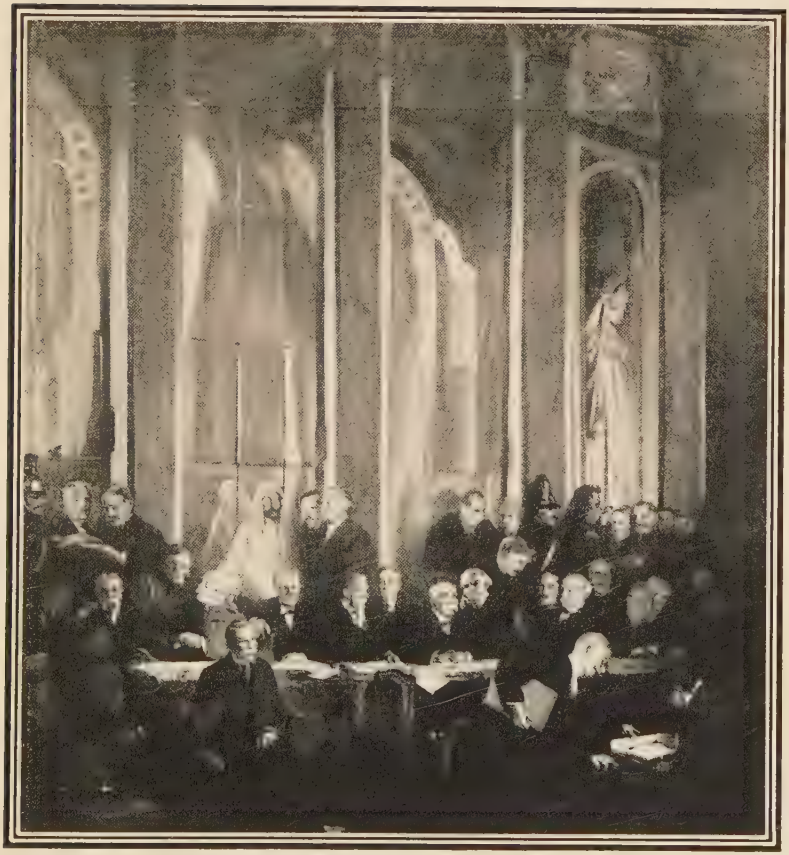
On the day before the ceremony Herr von Haniel sent word to the Peace Conference that the German delegates had received no formal assurance that the document they were to sign in the Hall of Mirrors was identical with the treaty handed them on June

19th. M. Clemenceau immediately drafted a letter assuring them formally that the document was identical in all its parts, and this was carried to the Germans by M. Dutasta, General Secretary of the Conference.

Similarly, the places reserved for the delegation from China were not to be occupied. This was the one rift in the lute, for the Chinese commissioners, in protest against the clauses of the treaty agreeing to the transfer of the German leaseholds to Japan, decided not to sign the Treaty. A month before the Chinese plenipotentiaries had made a formal request of the Peace Conference that the question involved in the Shantung matter be not included in the Treaty, but be postponed for future consideration. This request was denied. On the morning of June 28 M. Lou Tseng Tsiang, president of the Chinese delegation, asked that China be permitted to sign with the explanatory note, "Under the reservation made at the plenary session of May 6, 1919, and relative to the question of Shantung (Articles 156, 157, and 158)." He pointed out that the Swedish plenipotentiary signed the act of the Congress of Vienna with a reservation. The request was not acceded to by the Conference, and when the time for signature came, the Chinese did not respond. The attitude of the Chinese delegation in this matter was consistent with its point of view that Japan should have been asked by the Peace Conference to vacate Shantung and turn all German property over to China.

There was to be only one official Treaty of Peace, printed on Japanese vellum, with a large margin and held together by red tape. This copy was to be placed in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, and a copy given to all the governments concerned in its signing. In order to expedite the signing, which at the best speed possible would take nearly an hour, the seals of the commissioners, which were considered necessary, had been placed on the document before the signing. These were the personal seals of the signatories, for these men signed in person and not as officials of their governments. For this reason it was not considered proper for President Wilson to use the seal that had been selected for him, one bearing the American eagle and the words, "The President of the United States of America." President Wilson thereupon substituted a seal from a ring, given him at the time of his marriage by the State of California, which bore his name in stenographic characters. Some of the commissioners did not possess personal seals, but obtained them before they were needed.

When the time came for opening the historic session, the long hall was crowded with delegates, visitors, and newspaper representatives. The commissioners had put in almost an hour passing from table to table to seek autographs of men as notable as themselves. The guests bobbed up and down in their chairs, trying to observe the great men of the Conference. A score of Gardes Municipaux circulated



"The Signing of the Treaty of Versailles," June 28, 1919
From the Painting by John C. Johansen

among the crowd for a very good reason: they were instructed to keep a watch on the pens and ink-wells in the hall, and to prevent these articles being pilfered by souvenir-hunters.

At about 2:30 o'clock M. Clemenceau entered the room and looked about him to see that all arrangements were in perfect order. He observed a group of wounded, with their medals of valor on their breasts, in the embrasure of a window, and, walking up to them, engaged them in conversation. At 2:45 o'clock he moved up to the middle table and took the seat of the presiding officer. It was a singular fact that he sat almost immediately under the ceiling decoration that bears the legend "Le roi gouverne par lui-même," in other words, almost the exact spot where William I. of Prussia stood when he was proclaimed German Emperor in 1871. President Wilson entered almost immediately after M. Clemenceau and was saluted with discreet applause. The German delegation entered by way of the Hall of Peace and slipped almost unnoticed into its seats at this end of the hall. It was led by Herr Müller, a tall man with a scrubby little mustache, wearing black, with a short black tie over his white shirt front. The Germans bowed and seated themselves.

At 3:15 o'clock M. Clemenceau rose and announced briefly that the session was opened—"La séance est ouverte." He then spoke briefly in French as follows:

"An agreement has been reached upon the conditions of the treaty of peace between the Allies and Associated Powers and the German Empire.

"The text has been verified; the President of the Conference has certified in writing that the text about to be signed conforms to the text of the 200 copies which have been sent to Messieurs the German delegates.

"The signatures about to be given constitute an irrevocable engagement to carry out loyally and faithfully in their entirety all the conditions that have been decided upon.

"I therefore have the honor of asking Messieurs the German plenipotentiaries to approach to affix their signatures to the Treaty before me."

M. Clemenceau ceased and sat down, and Herr Müller rose as if to proceed to the table. He was interrupted, however, by Lieutenant Mantoux, official interpreter of the Conference, who began to translate M. Clemenceau's words into German. In his first sentence, when Lieutenant Mantoux reached the words "the German Empire," or, as M. Clemenceau had said in French: "l'empire allemand," he translated it "the German Republic." M. Clemenceau promptly whispered, "Say German Reich," this being the term consistently used by the Germans.

M. Dutasta then led the way for five Germans—two plenipotentiaries and three secretaries—and they passed to the table, where two of them signed their names. Müller came first, and then Bell, virtually

unknown men, performing the final act of abasement and submission for the German people—an act to which they had been condemned by the arrogance and pride of Prussian Junkers, German militarists and industrial barons, not one of whom was present when this great scene was enacted.

The delegation from the United States was the first to be called up after the Germans. President Wilson rose and as he began his walk to the historic table, followed in order by Secretary Lansing, Colonel House, General Bliss and Mr. White, other delegates stretched out their hands to congratulate him. He came forward with a broad smile, and signed his name at the spot indicated by M. William Martin, director of the protocol. Mr. Lloyd George followed the American delegation, together with Mr. Balfour, Lord Milner, Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Barnes; and when these five men had signed, the delegates from the British Dominions followed, a notable array of men representing the greatest power the world has ever seen. Then came the delegation of the French Republic, in order, Messieurs Clemenceau, Pichon, Klotz, Tardieu and Cambon, the president of the council signing his name without seating himself. Then came the delegations of Italy, Japan and Belgium. At 3:50 o'clock all signatures had been completed, and the President of the Conference announced:

"Messieurs, all the signatures have been given. The signature of the conditions of peace between the Al-

lied and Associated Powers and the German Republic is an accomplished fact. The session is adjourned."

The official protocol verifies the fact that M. Clemenceau used the word "republic" in his final statement.

Immediately afterward the great guns began to boom from the battery near the orangerie. The delegates rose and congratulated one another. The notables streamed out of the palace to join the crowd, which had begun shouting in wild enthusiasm with the first sound of the guns. The great fountains of the park were turned on, and the water marvels of Lenôtre began to play in the mellow sunshine throughout one of the most impressive playgrounds of the world.

The Germans were the first to leave the Hall of Mirrors, passing out alone, and immediately taking their automobiles for the hotel. A short time later M. Clemenceau invited President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George to view the fountains with him. The moment that the three men appeared before the crowd a great wave of wildly cheering humanity rushed toward them. They locked arms, and preceded by a protecting guard of soldiers and attendants attempted to gain the terrace above the fountain of Latona, in order to look over the broad expanse of the "tapis vert" to the vista of canals and woods beyond. Even here the crowd pushed forward; men slapped them on the back in their exuberance, strangers shouted hoarse greetings into their ears, and it

was a most fortunate and remarkable fact that they returned to the palace in safety. They then went to the salon of the old Senate, where they met Baron Sonnino and later Baron Makino, and indulged in the beverage of the conference—tea.

After signing the Treaty of Peace the German plenipotentiaries gave the following statement to the United Press:

"We have signed the treaty without any mental reservation. What we have signed we will carry out. The German people will compel those in power to hold to and conform to the clauses. But we believe that the Entente in its own interest will consider it necessary to modify some articles when it becomes aware that the execution of these articles is impossible.

"We believe that the Entente will not insist upon the delivery of the Kaiser and upon that of the high officers.

"The central government has not aided any attack against Poland. Germany will make every effort to prove that she is worthy of entering the League of Nations."

For the rest of that day and night Versailles and Paris, throwing aside "le calme et la dignité," gave themselves up to a delirium of joy, a revel that came as the logical reaction to five years of pent-up grief and suffering.

# THE TREATY RESERVATIONS WHICH FAILED

*Text of the Preamble and Fifteen Reservations*

*THE day the Treaty of Versailles was signed, June 28, 1919, President Wilson sailed for America, to begin his long struggle with Congress over its ratification, with the Covenant of the League of Nations incorporated. Opposition to the Covenant had developed in the Senate, led by Henry Cabot Lodge, as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, who demanded such reservations as would safeguard American interests and institutions. The crux of the opposition was Article X, which a proposed reservation, as President Wilson saw and characterized it, "cut the heart out of the League of Nations."*

*Here is the text of the Preamble and Fifteen Reservations as adopted by the Senate before the final vote of ratification, the resolution for the adoption of which lacked seven votes of the required two-thirds. Although the resolution was a Republican (Lodge) measure, the opposition of the Republican "irreconcilables" or "bitter-enders" was sufficient to defeat it on March 19, 1920.*

RESOLVED (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the Treaty of Peace with Germany concluded at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, subject to the following reservations and understandings which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said reservations and understandings adopted by the Senate have been accepted as a part and a condition of this resolution of ratification by the Allied and Associated Powers, and a failure on the part of the Allied and Associated Powers to make objections to said reserva-

tions and understandings prior to the deposit of ratification by the United States shall be taken as a full and final acceptance of such reservations and understandings by said powers:

1. The United States so understands and construes Article I. that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

2. The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country by the employment of its military or naval forces, its resources, or any form of economic discrimination, or to interfere in any way in controversies between nations, including all controversies relating to territorial integrity or political independence, whether members of the League or not, under the provisions of Article X., or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States, under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which under the Constitution has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall in the exercise of full liberty of action, by act or joint resolution so provide.

3. No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII., Part 1, or any other provision of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

4. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this Treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations, or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

5. The United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations, provided for in said Treaty of Peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said Treaty of Peace with Germany.

6. The United States withholds its assent to Articles 156, 157, and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles.

7. No person is or shall be authorized to represent the United States, nor shall any citizen of the United States be eligible, as a member of any body or agency established or authorized by said Treaty of Peace with Germany except pursuant to an act of the Congress of the United States providing for his appointment and defining his powers and duties.

8. The United States understands that the Reparation Commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by act or joint resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference.

9. The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations, or of the Secretariat or of any commission, or committee, or conference, or other agency, organized under the League of Nations or under the Treaty or for the purpose of carrying out the Treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States; provided, that the foregoing limitation shall not apply to the United States' proportionate share of the expense of the office force and salary of the Secretary General.

10. No plan for the limitation of armaments as reported by the Council of the League of Nations under the provisions of Article 8 shall be held as binding the United States until the same shall have been accepted by Congress, and the United States reserves the right to increase its armament without the consent of the Council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

11. The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a covenant-breaking state as defined in Article XVI. of the covenant of the League of Nations, residing within the United States or in countries other than such covenant-breaking state, to continue their commercial, financial and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

12. Nothing in Articles 296, 297, or in any of the annexes thereto or in any other article, section, or annex of the Treaty of Peace with Germany shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States.

13. The United States withholds its assent to Part XIII. (Articles 337 to 427 inclusive), unless Congress by act or joint resolution shall hereafter make provision for representation in the organization established by said Part XIII., and in such event the participation of the United States will be governed

and conditioned by the provisions of such act or joint resolution.

14. Until Part 1, being the covenant of the League of Nations, shall be so amended as to provide that the United States shall be entitled to cast a number of votes equal to that which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies or parts of empire in the aggregate, shall be entitled to cast, the United States assumes no obligation to be bound, except in cases where Congress has previously given its consent, by any election, decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly in which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate, have cast more than one vote.

The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the League if such member or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire united with it politically has voted.

15. In consenting to the ratification of the Treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when such government is attained by Ireland, a consummation which it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations.

# PEACE, VOTED BY CONGRESS, IS VETOED AND FINALLY DECLARED

*Text of the Knox Resolution and Wilson's Veto Message*

## Text of Knox Resolution Passed by Congress

*PEACE by Congressional action, independently of President Wilson, was undertaken by the Senate in May 1920, led by Republican Senator Philander C. Knox, who contended that the war was over, in fact and in law; that the objects for which we had entered the struggle had been achieved; that a "power-maddened administration" was continuing a technical state of war solely for the purpose of coercing the Senate into ratifying the Treaty.*

*His accompanying resolution was passed by the Senate and later concurred in by the House of Representatives. On May 27, Wilson vetoed it for the reasons given in his appended letter to the House.*

*At the special session of Congress in 1921 a peace resolution was adopted declaring the state of war between Germany and the United States at an end. It was signed by President Harding on July 2 of that year.*

THE joint resolution of Congress, passed April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the Imperial German Government and the Government and people of the United States, and making provisions to prosecute the same, be, and the same is hereby repealed and said state of war is hereby declared at an end.

Provided, however, that all property of the Imperial German Government, or its successor or successors, and of all German nationals which was on April 6, 1917, is or has since that date come into the possession or under control of the Government of the United States or any of its officers, agents or employees from

any source or by any agency whatsoever, shall be retained by the United States and no disposition thereof made, except as shall specifically be hereafter provided by Congress, until such time as the German Government has, by treaty with the United States, ratification whereof is to be made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, made suitable provisions for the satisfaction of all claims against the German Government of all persons, wheresoever domiciled, who owe permanent allegiance to the United States, whether such persons have suffered through the acts of the German Government or its agents since July 31, 1914, loss, damage, or injury to their persons or property, directly or indirectly, through the ownership of shares of stock in German, American, or other corporations, or have suffered damage directly in consequence of hostilities or any operations of war, or otherwise, or until the German Government has given further undertakings and made provisions by treaty, to be ratified by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for granting to persons owing permanent allegiance to the United States, most favored nation treatment, whether the same be national or otherwise, in all matters affecting residence, business, profession, trade, navigation, commerce and industrial property rights, and confirming to the United States all fines, forfeitures, penalties, and seizures imposed or made by the United States during the war, whether in respect to the property of the German Government or German nation-

als, and waiving any pecuniary claim based on events which occurred at any time before the coming into force of such treaty, any existing treaty between the United States and Germany to the contrary notwithstanding.

That in the interpretation of any provision relating to the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency in any acts of Congress, joint resolutions or proclamations of the President containing provisions contingent upon the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, the date when this resolution becomes effective shall be construed and treated as the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, notwithstanding any provision in any act of Congress or joint resolution, providing any other mode of determining the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency.

That until by treaty or act or joint resolution of Congress it shall be determined otherwise, the United States, although it has not ratified the Treaty of Versailles, does not waive any of the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages to which it and its nationals have become entitled under the terms of the Armistice signed November 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof or which under the Treaty of Versailles have been stipulated for its benefit as one of the principal allied and associated powers and to which it is entitled.

That the joint resolution of Congress approved December 7, 1917, declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same, be, and the same is hereby repealed, and said state of war is hereby declared at an end, and the President is hereby requested immediately to open negotiations with the successor or successors of said Government for the purpose of establishing fully friendly relations and commercial intercourse between the United States and the Governments and peoples of Austria and Hungary.

* * * *

## WILSON'S VETO MESSAGE

TO the House of Representatives: I return herewith, without my signature, House Joint Resolution 327, intended to repeal the Joint Resolution of April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany, and the Joint Resolution of December 7, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Government, and to declare a state of peace. I have not felt at liberty to sign this resolution because I cannot bring myself to become party to an action which would place ineffaceable stain upon the gallantry and honor of the United States.

The resolution seeks to establish peace with the German Empire without exacting from the German Government any action by way of setting right the infinite wrongs which it did to the peoples whom it attacked and whom we professed it our purpose to assist when we entered the war. Have we sacrificed the lives of more than one hundred thousand Americans and ruined the lives of thousands of others and brought upon thousands of American families an unhappiness that can never end for purposes which we do not now care to state or take further steps to attain?

The attainment of these purposes is provided for in the Treaty of Versailles by terms deemed adequate by the leading statesmen and experts of all the great peoples who were associated in the war against Germany. Do we now not care to join in the effort to secure them?

We entered the war most reluctantly. Our people were profoundly disinclined to take part in a European war, and at last did so, only because they became convinced that it could not in truth be regarded as only a European war, but must be regarded as a war in which civilization itself was involved and human rights of every kind as against a belligerent Government. Moreover, when we entered the war we set forth very definitely the purposes for which we entered, partly because we did not wish to be considered as merely taking part in a European contest. This Joint Resolution which I return does not

seek to accomplish any of these objects, but in effect makes a complete surrender of the rights of the United States so far as the German Government is concerned.

A treaty of peace was signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth of June last which did seek to accomplish the objects which we had declared to be in our minds, because all the great Governments and peoples which united against Germany had adopted our declarations of purpose as their own and had in solemn form embodied them in communications to the German Government preliminary to the Armistice of November 11, 1918. But the treaty, as signed at Versailles, has been rejected by the Senate of the United States, though it has been ratified by Germany. By that rejection and by its methods we had in effect declared that we wish to draw apart and pursue objects and interests of our own, unhampered by any connections of interest or of purpose with other Governments and peoples.

Notwithstanding the fact that upon our entrance into the war we professed to be seeking to assist in the maintenance of common interests, nothing is said in this resolution about the freedom of navigation upon the seas, or the reduction of armaments, or the vindication of the rights of Belgium, or the rectification of wrongs done to France, or the release of the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire from the intolerable subjugation which they have had for so many generations to endure, or the establishment of an independent Polish State, or the continued main-

tenance of any kind of understanding among the great powers of the world which would be calculated to prevent in the future such outrages as Germany attempted and in part consummated.

We have now, in effect, declared that we do not care to take any further risks or to assume any further responsibilities with regard to the freedom of nations or the sacredness of international obligations or the safey of independent peoples. Such a peace with Germany—a peace in which none of the essential interests which we had at heart when we entered the war is safeguarded—is, or ought to be, inconceivable, as inconsistent with the dignity of the United States, with the rights and liberties of her citizens, and with the very fundamental conditions of civilization.

I hope that in these statements I have sufficiently set forth the reasons why I have felt it incumbent upon me to withhold my signature.

WOODROW WILSON.

The WHITE HOUSE, May 27, 1920.

# THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT

## Welcoming Address by President Harding

*AS a result of the International Conference on the Limitation of Armament, which met at Washington, November 12, 1921, on the invitation of President Warren G. Harding, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was abandoned in favor of a Four Power Pacific Alliance between Great Britain, France, Japan and the United States, and a consequent treaty which provided for a limitation of armaments "dispelled one [Japanese-American] war cloud on the horizon of a troubled world."*

*Here is President Harding's address of welcome to the delegates from Great Britain and her Dominions, France, Italy, Japan, China, Belgium, Portugal and the United States, followed by the notable address delivered by Secretary Hughes on assuming the chairmanship.*

*The concluding article is a summing-up of the work of the conference, which former Secretary of State Elihu Root made in an address before the American Society of International Law, April 27, 1922.*

SPEAKING as official sponsor for the invitation, I think I may say the call [for this Conference on the Limitation of Armament] is not of the United States of America alone; it is rather the spoken word of a war-wearied world, struggling for restoration, hungering and thirsting for better relationship; of humanity crying for relief and craving assurances of lasting peace.

It is easy to understand this world-wide aspiration. The glory of triumph, the rejoicing in achievement, the love of liberty, the devotion to country, the pangs of sorrow, the burdens of debt, the desolation of ruin—all these are appraised alike in all lands. Here in the United States we are

but freshly turned from the burial of an unknown American soldier, when a nation sorrowed while paying him tribute. Whether it was spoken or not, a hundred millions of our people were summarizing the inexcusable causes, the incalculable cost, the unspeakable sacrifices and the unutterable sorrows, and there was the ever impelling question: How can humanity justify or God forgive? Human hate demands no such toll; ambition and greed must be denied it. If misunderstanding must take the blame, then let us banish it, and let understanding rule and good-will be regnant everywhere. All of us demand liberty and justice. There cannot be one without the other, and they must be held the unquestioned possession of all peoples. Inherent rights are of God, and the tragedies of the world originate in their attempted denial. The world to-day is infringing their enjoyment by arming to defend or deny, when simple sanity calls for their recognition through common understanding.

Out of the cataclysm of the World War came new fellowships, new convictions, new aspirations. It is ours to make the most of them. A world staggering with debt needs its burden lifted. Humanity which has been shocked by wanton destruction would minimize the agencies of that destruction. Contemplating the measureless cost of war and the continuing burden of armament, all thoughtful peoples wish for real limitation of armament and would like war outlawed. In soberest reflection the world's hundreds of millions who pay in peace and die in war wish their states-

men to turn the expenditures for destruction into means of construction, aimed at a higher state for those who live and follow after.

It is not alone that the world cannot readjust itself and cast aside the excess of burdens without relief from the leaders of men. War has grown progressively cruel and more destructive from the first recorded conflict to this pregnant day, and the reverse order would more become our boasted civilization.

Gentlemen of the conference, the United States welcomes you with unselfish hands. We harbor no fears; we have no sordid ends to serve; we suspect no enemy; we contemplate or apprehend no conquests. Content with what we have, we seek nothing which is another's. We only wish to do with you that finer, nobler thing which no nation can do alone. . . .

### Secretary Charles Evans Hughes States the Objects of the Conference

. . . THE President invited the Governments of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan to participate in a conference on the subject of limitation of armament, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions would also be discussed. It would have been most agreeable to the President to have invited all the powers to take part in this conference, but it was thought to be a time when other considerations should yield to the practical requirements of the existing exigency, and in this

view the invitation was extended to the group known as the principal Allied and Associated Powers, which, by reason of the conditions produced by the war, control in the main the armament of the world. The opportunity to limit armament lies within their grasp.

It was recognized, however, that the interests of other powers in the Far East made it appropriate that they should be invited to participate in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and, with the approval of the five powers, an invitation to take part in the discussion of those question has been extended to Belgium, China, the Netherlands and Portugal.

The inclusion of the proposal for the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions was not for the purpose of embarrassing or delaying an agreement for limitation of armament, but rather to support that undertaking by availing ourselves of this meeting to endeavor to reach a common understanding as to the principles and policies to be followed in the Far East and thus greatly to diminish, and if possible wholly to remove, discernible sources of controversy. It is believed that by interchanges of views at this opportune time the Governments represented here may find a basis of accord and thus give expression to their desire to assure enduring friendship. . . .

The proposal to limit armament by an agreement of the powers is not a new one, and we are admonished by the futility of earlier efforts. It may be well to recall the noble aspirations which were voiced 23 years ago in the imperial rescript of His Majesty

the Emperor of Russia. It was then pointed out with clarity and emphasis that "the intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labor and capital are for the major part diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though to-day regarded as the last word of science, are destined to-morrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field. National culture, economic progress and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development. Moreover, in proportion as the armaments of each power increase, so do they less and less fulfil the object which the Governments have set before themselves. The economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments a l'outrance and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war materials, are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It appears evident, then, that if this state of things were prolonged it would inevitably lead to the calamity which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking man shudder in advance. To put a end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world—such is the supreme duty which is to-day imposed on all states." . . .

It was seven years later that the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Elihu Root, in answering

a note of the Russian Ambassador suggesting in outline a programme of the second peace conference, said: "The Government of the United States, therefore, feels it to be its duty to reserve for itself the liberty to propose to the second peace conference as one of the subjects for consideration the reduction or limitation of armaments, in the hope that if nothing further can be accomplished some slight advance may be made toward the realization of the lofty conception which actuated the Emperor of Russia in calling the first conference." It is significant that the Imperial German Government expressed itself as "absolutely opposed to the question of disarmament" and that the Emperor of Germany threatened to decline to send delegates if the subject of disarmament was to be discussed. In view, however, of the resolution which had been adopted at the first Hague conference the delegates of the United States were instructed that the subject of limitation of armament "should be regarded as unfinished business, and that the second conference should ascertain and give full consideration to the results of such examination as the Governments may have given to the possibility of an agreement pursuant to the wish expressed by the first conference." But by reason of the obstacles which the subject had encountered, the second peace conference at The Hague, although it made notable progress in provision for the peaceful settlement of controversies, was unable to deal with limitation of armament except by a resolution in the following

general terms: "The conference confirms the resolution adopted by the conference of 1899 in regard to the limitation of military expenditure; and inasmuch as military expenditure has considerably increased in almost every country since that time, the conference declares that it is eminently desirable that the Governments should resume the serious examination of this question."

This was the fruition of the efforts of eight years. Although the effect was clearly perceived, the race in preparation of armament, wholly unaffected by these futile suggestions, went on until it fittingly culminated in the greatest war of history; and we are now suffering from the unparalleled loss of life, the destruction of hopes, the economic dislocations, and the widespread impoverishment which measure the cost of the victory over the brutal pretensions of military force.

But if we are warned by the inadequacy of earlier endeavors for limitation of armament, we cannot fail to recognize the extraordinary opportunity now presented. We not only have the lessons of the past to guide us, not only do we have the reaction from the disillusioning experiences of war, but we must meet the challenge of imperative economic demands. What was convenient or highly desirable before is now a matter of vital necessity. If there is to be economic rehabilitation, if the longings for reasonable progress are not to be denied, if we are to be spared the uprisings of peoples made desperate in the desire

to shake off burdens no longer endurable, competition in armament must stop. The present opportunity not only derives its advantage from a general appreciation of this fact, but the power to deal with the exigency now rests with a small group of nations, represented here, who have every reason to desire peace and to promote amity. The astounding ambition which lay athwart the promise of the second Hague conference no longer menaces the world, and the great opportunity of liberty-loving and peace-preserving democracies has come. Is it not plain that the time has passed for mere resolutions, that the responsible powers should examine the question of limitation of armament? We can no longer content ourselves with investigations, with statistics, with reports, with the circumlocution of inquiry. The essential facts are sufficiently known. The time has come and this conference has been called not for general resolutions or mutual advice but for action. We meet with full understanding that the aspirations of mankind are not to be defeated either by plausible suggestions of postponement or by impracticable counsels of perfection. Power and responsibility are here, and the world awaits a practicable programme which shall at once be put into execution. . . .

The number of capital ships to be scrapped by the United States, if this plan is accepted, is 30, with an aggregate tonnage (including that of ships in construction, if completed) of 845,740 tons. . . .

The total tonnage of ships thus to be scrapped by Great Britain (including the tonnage of four "Hoods," if completed) would be 583,375 tons. . . .

The total number of new capital ships to be scrapped by Japan is 7. The total tonnage of these new capital ships when completed would be 289,100 tons.

Thus, under this plan there would be immediately destroyed, of the navies of the three powers, 66 capital fighting ships, built and building, with a total tonnage of 1,878,043.

It is proposed that it should be agreed by the United States, Great Britain and Japan that their navies, with respect to capital ships, within three months after the making of the agreement shall consist of certain ships designated in the proposal and numbering for the United States 18, for Great Britain 22, for Japan 10.

The tonnage of these ships would be as follows: Of the United States, 500,650; of Great Britain, 604,450; of Japan, 299,700. In reaching this result the age factor in the case of the respective navies has received appropriate consideration. . . .

### Elihu Root on the Value of the Conference

THE conference was called to deal with the limitation of armament. The special occasion for it was the apparent race of competition in the building of battleships and battle cruisers on the part of

Japan and the United States, a race in which Great Britain was about to enter under the imperative necessity of maintaining her ocean-borne food supply and protecting her Far Eastern colonies and dominions. . . . At the outset of the conference the United States made a very drastic proposal not only to stop competition, but to destroy about 40 per cent. of the existing strength of capital ships of the principal naval powers, in such a way as to leave the relative proportions of naval strength unchanged, and that proposal was ultimately accepted and embodied in the principal treaty resulting from the conference.

Such proposals, however, do not carry themselves. Competition in armament results from national states of mind, distrust, apprehension of attack, a widespread belief that war is imminent, so that the peoples of the respective countries think in terms of war, prepare for war, and reach a condition of thought and feeling in which it is natural for war to come. That state of mind must be disposed of if competition is to be really stopped. The nations concerned must cease to think in terms of war and must come to think in terms of peace. The object of having a conference is to effect such a change by friendly negotiation, explanation, doing away with misunderstanding, creating conviction of friendly intention and good faith, with the aid on appropriate occasions of friendly advice of third parties. The success of such a process in the Washington Confer-

ence was registered in what is called the Four-Power Treaty between Great Britain, France, Japan and the United States.

I doubt if any formal treaty ever accomplished so much by doing so little. It provided that we should all respect rights, which we were bound to do already, and that if controversy arose about the Pacific islands (it was quite immaterial what islands) the parties should get together and talk it over, which was the very thing they were then doing in Washington. The consent of the Senate was not necessary to such an agreement. It merely arranged for following an ordinary form of diplomatic intercourse. The President had done the same thing at Algeciras and at The Hague and at the Conference of London without asking the consent of the Senate, and the Senate had ratified the conclusions reached at those conferences. It was important, however, that the Senate should give its approval in this case because the instrument was a formal certificate to all the people of Japan and all the people of the United States and all the civilized powers that the parties to the treaty had abandoned their mutual distrust and had ceased to think about war with each other and had resumed relations of genuine friendship. That certificate and the truth that it represents incidentally made possible the abandonment of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and made possible the treaty for the limitations of naval armament and dispelled one war cloud upon the horizon of a troubled world.

# "BACK TO NORMALCY" WITH PRESIDENT HARDING

*Memorial Address by Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State*

*IN the Presidential campaign of 1920, Warren Gamaliel Harding, the Republican candidate, received 16,138,914 votes, as compared with 9,142,438 cast for Cox, the Democratic candidate. It was the largest plurality on record. Taking office March 4, 1921, President Harding became ill while returning from a trip to Alaska and succumbed to a stroke of apoplexy in San Francisco, August 2, 1923.*

*His advocacy of American participation in the World Court and his calling of the Washington Arms Conference, as recounted in preceding pages, were outstanding acts of his Administration. Shortly before the treaties drafted at the Conference were signed, President Harding declared that their ratification would give his Administration a secure place in history. Otherwise it would be of only passing interest.*

*Secretary Hughes paid our twenty-ninth President this tribute at the official memorial exercises held in the House of Representatives, February 27, 1924.*

MORE than two years had passed since the Armistice and we were still in a technical state of war. Rejecting the compact framed abroad, we were without an effective agreement establishing peace, opening the appropriate channels of intercourse with former enemies and safeguarding essential rights. We had expended about $40,000,000,000 on the World War and in August, 1919, our national debt had reached its highest point at $26,500,000,000, or about 10 times the amount of the national debt at the close of the Civil War. Our people were subject to a colossal burden of taxation. In 1917 the Federal

Government's revenues from taxation were $1,035,000,000. In 1919 they had risen to $4,023,000,000, and in 1920 they mounted to $5,722,000,000. Economic conditions gave cause for the keenest anxiety. Our basic activities were hard hit in the inevitable reactions which followed the great expansion which was necessary to meet the demands of war. Nearly 5,000,000 workers were unemployed, and the country was looking forward with grave apprehension to a period of unparalleled suffering if conditions did not improve. As President Harding observed, "in the then existing temper of people everywhere, overwrought and exasperated at contemplated sacrifices barren of results for good, these conditions involved a menace to society." Already, some were recommending a policy of public doles, a most desperate resort. Uncertainty and instability had followed the relaxing of the tension of the great struggle. The time for debate had passed; debate had been had. It was time that a controversy which could have no result but increased bitterness should end and that the path of permissible helpful effort should be sought. President Harding met the need of the hour. That need was conciliation and coöperation; he incarnated both.

He at once determined to end the technical state of war and to establish the necessary formal peace; and this he achieved with the least loss of time and in the only practicable way. He sought to relieve agriculture, to foster industry, to conserve the inter-

ests of our merchant marine. There was "a frank and confident appeal to a great people to apply their soundest sense and to cling to tried and trusted methods." There were conferences on unemployment and on housing. There were meetings of the representatives of industry, of labor, of transportation, of civic and commercial bodies. President Harding rejoiced in the opportunity to bring "all groups, classes, interests and sections into a splendid coöperation." Proceedings were taken speedily and efficiently to dispose of the governmental transactions incident to the war and requiring adjustment. President Harding went to the root of domestic problems by insistence on the immediate reduction of national expenditures and the lifting of the burdens of war taxation. He endeavored to reduce the staggering load of war debt by a gradual liquidation which the strictest economy could alone make possible. Said he: "Our current expenditures are running at the rate of approximately five billions a year, and the burden is unbearable. There are two agencies to be employed in correction: One is rigid resistance to appropriation and the other is the utmost economy in administration. Let us have both."

By the remarkable efficiency of his organization of budget control, by the wisdom of Treasury management, by appropriate legislative and administrative encouragement of commerce and industry, by intelligent and organized attention to the problem of unemployment, the prophecies of cynics were brought

to naught, confidence was restored and, despite the exigencies that still remained and the important measures of relief still needed, there was achieved an extraordinary degree of progress. With industry revived, labor was fully employed. On June 30, 1923, the national debt had been reduced to $22,400,000,000 and the Government's program now calls for a reduction of half a billion a year. The indebtedness of Great Britain to the United States was funded on a sound basis, putting, as the President well said, "a fresh stamp of approval upon the sacredness of international obligations." The cost of government—that is to say, the expenditures of the Federal Government (exclusive of expenditures payable from postal revenues and the principal of the public debt)—which had amounted to $6,139,000,000 in 1920 and to $4,880,000,000 in 1921, was reduced to $3,647,000,000 in 1923. The Treasury was able to balance the budget and close the last fiscal year with a surplus of $309,000,000. And by virtue of this successful administration of the Government's business the people are now able to look forward with the utmost gratification to a further reduction of the tax load. In meeting domestic exigencies, in planning every remedial endeavor, President Harding constantly sought coöperation. He was not merely the Chief Executive but endeavored to be the effective coördinator of the functions of government. Wherever he worked, whether in the limited range of early activities or in the broad sphere of national

leadership, the mainspring of his action was always the intense desire to harmonize, to find a way of agreement, to bring about teamwork. He hated strife, his gospel was that of understanding.

It was with an intense desire to contribute to the promotion of peace and to find avenues of helpfulness that he contemplated the chaotic conditions left by the Great War and our relations to other peoples. His was not the spirit of a narrow or selfish nationalism. He wished no commitment which would forfeit or impair the independence and liberty of action which was the heritage of the Republic. But he desired to safeguard this fortunate detachment from the ambitions and rivalries which had vexed the Old World, not only to conserve our own security but that America might use her freedom for an enlarged service. Let these eloquent words of his inaugural address reveal his conviction and his outlook:

"The recorded progress of our Republic, materially and spiritually, in itself proves the wisdom of the inherited policy of noninvolvement in Old World affairs. Confident of our ability to work out our own destiny, and jealously guarding our right to do so, we seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World. We do not mean to be entangled. We will accept no responsibility except as our own conscience and judgment, in each instance, may determine. Our eyes never will be blind to a developing menace, our ears never deaf to the call of civilization. We recognize the new order in the world, with the closer con-

tacts which progress has wrought. We sense the call of the human heart for fellowship, fraternity, and coöperation. . . .

"America is ready to encourage, eager to initiate, anxious to participate in any seemly program likely to lessen the probability of war and promote that brotherhood of mankind which must be God's highest conception of human relationship. Because we cherish ideals of justice and peace, because we appraise the international comity and helpful relationship no less highly than any people of the world, we aspire to a high place in the moral leadership of civilization, and we hold a maintained America, the proven Republic, the unshaken temple of representative democracy, to be not only an inspiration and example, but the highest agency of strengthening good will and promoting accord on both continents."

These were not idle words to catch a transient applause. He meant what he said. He knew what it was vain to attempt; he had no illusions as to causes of European disorder. He knew that the evils which afflicted Europe could find no cure except in the abatement of strife and in settlements which could not be imposed from without, but could only be achieved when the Powers directly concerned had a will to peace and were willing to agree. But his clear perception of existing difficulties made him only the more keen to find some opening for helpful effort, some way to further the cause nearest his heart, the cause of world peace, and that way was found [in the Conference on Limitation of Armament].

President Harding . . . literally wore himself out in the endeavor to be friendly. . . . He desired to make the trip to Alaska in order to see for himself its wonders, to appraise by personal examination the resources and exigencies of that great territory. Having been in office over two years he wished to address the people upon the achievements of his Administration and to present directly to them his conception of the solution of urgent problems. Above all, he craved the inspiration of direct contact with the people in many communities and the assurance of their personal interest and kindly support. That to every Executive, however masterful, is the wine of life. . . . He made his journey to Alaska, and in the course of six weeks delivered about eighty-five speeches, many of which had been carefully prepared and were most instructive discussions of a vast range of topics, such as the international court of justice, transportation problems, agriculture, law enforcement, taxation and expenditures, national business conditions, social justice, development, reclamation and water utilization, the territory of Alaska; and there was another address, which he had written and personally released for publication but was unable to deliver, giving a comprehensive review of foreign relations.

It was just before the breakdown that he stepped on foreign soil at Vancouver and voiced our historic friendship for the people of the great Dominion. "What an object lesson of peace is shown to-day,"

he exclaimed, "by our two countries to all the world. No grim-faced fortifications mark our frontiers; no huge battleships patrol our divided waters; no stealthy spies lurk in our tranquil border hamlets. . . . Our protection is in our fraternity, our armor is our faith; the tie that binds more firmly year by year is ever-increasing acquaintance and comradeship through interchange of citizens, and the compact is not of perishable parchment, but of fair and honorable dealing, which, God grant, shall continue for all time."

# CALVIN COOLIDGE, THIRTIETH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

*Press Account of His Taking the Oath of Office*

*AS here recounted in a dispatch to the New York "Times," Calvin Coolidge took the oath of office and became the thirtieth President of the United States at 2:43 a.m., August 3, 1923, in Plymouth, Vermont, where he was recreating. His aged father, who was a notary public, administered the oath, it being the first time in the history of the Republic that a parent so officiated.*

*Coolidge had been elected Vice-President in 1920, on the Republican ticket with Harding. His nomination was largely the result of his determined stand, as Governor of Massachusetts, against the unionization and strike of the Boston police in 1919, when he asserted that "there is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime."*

*As Vice-President he established a precedent by sitting regularly in Cabinet meetings, on invitation of President Harding. In 1924 he was nominated and elected President.*

FACING his father and with his wife at his side, Calvin Coolidge was sworn in as the thirtieth President of the United States at 2:43 this morning [August 3, 1923], standard time, in the parlor of the Coolidge homestead, directly across the road from the house in which he was born.

The President's father, John Calvin Coolidge, 78 years old, administered the oath of office. It was the first time in the history of the Republic that a father installed his son as the Chief Executive of the nation.

The ceremony took place in a typical New England parlor or sitting room, a comfortably furnished, livable room in the father's

farm house at Plymouth Notch, in the southern part of the Green Mountains, nearly 2,000 feet above the level of the sea.

The faint light of an old-fashioned kerosene lamp, with a fluted top chimney and etched sides, was sufficient to throw the faces of the President and his father into bold relief. The rest of the small group that witnessed the simple ceremony were in a half light, almost a shadow. Back of the President was a large framed portrait of himself, which occupies the position of honor in his father's home.

The President's father, sturdy and active despite his years, stood at the south side of a small center table that held the lamp, the family Bible and a number of other books.

The President stood at the other side of the table, facing his father. Mrs. Coolidge, her face saddened by the gravity of the occasion and sympathy for Mrs. Harding, expressed a few minutes earlier, stood in the space formed by a bay window, less than a yard from her husband. . . .

It was an impressive sight when Mr. Coolidge took his place opposite his father. His face was pale. His bearing was marked by the simple dignity and poise which has characterized him all through the difficult period of President Harding's illness.

The elder Coolidge, who bears a marked resemblance to his son and has the same immobility of features, asked the President to raise his right hand. The President did so, and his father then read him

the following oath, prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, the form of which had been received by telegraph and telephone only a few minutes before from Washington.

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and I will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

The President repeated the oath after his father. There was a tense moment as he paused, with hand still uplifted, and added in a voice deep with feeling:

"So help me God."

Friends and neighbors who had gathered at the news of the death of President Harding were grouped outside in the soft summer darkness, and witnessed the ceremony through the open doors and windows. It was a much warmer night than usual in the Vermont hills. Except for the voices of the President and his father not a sound disturbed the silence of the night.

The administration of the oath followed the receipt of a message from Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty advising that the President should take the oath as soon as possible, if he had not already done so. Ordinarily the President's oath of office is administered by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the highest judicial officer in the country. It was explained that administration by any officer authorized by law to administer oaths was

just as binding. The President's father is a notary public of Windsor County.

Before taking the oath and after receiving news of President Harding's death at ten minutes before midnight, President Coolidge had talked with Washington several times on the telephone in the general store across the road, formerly run by his father.

This telephone is on the line of the Southern Vermont Telephone Company, a so-called "farmers' line," and . . . a circuit was established to give direct connection between Washington and the Coolidge farmhouse, which became for a few hours the nation's capital.

The President's father declined the President's invitation to accompany him to Washington. When it was suggested that such a trip should give him great pleasure, the elder Mr. Coolidge said:

"I think that my place is at home. There'll be a funeral down there. I think that my place is here to take care of the farm."

# THE FIRST WORLD FLIGHT

*Recounted by Pilot Lowell H. Smith to Flight Historian Lowell Thomas*

*THE round-the-world flight of the United States Army Air Service during 1924 was one of the greatest achievements in the history of aviation. Of the four airplanes which started from Seattle, Washington, April 6, two, the "Chicago" and "New Orleans," manned respectively by Lieutenants Lowell H. Smith and Leslie P. Arnold, and by Lieutenants Erik Nelson and John Harding, returned to Seattle on September 28, having flown 26,345 miles in 365 hours 11 minutes flying time.*

*Here is an account of two of the most hazardous stages of the flight, the "hop" from Alaska to Asia and from Iceland to Greenland. It is taken from Lowell Thomas's "The First World Flight," by permission of Houghton, Mifflin and Company. The flagplane "Seattle," piloted by Major Frederick Martin, crashed into a mountain in Alaska, and the "Boston" was forced down and wrecked off the Faroe Islands, the crew resuming the flight at Pictou, N. S.*

AT 11:35 on the morning of May 15, 1924, we set forth across the Pacific, and at five minutes past midday we passed over the last bit of American soil that we were to see for a long time. Bering Sea is one of the roughest bodies of water in the world, as we had long since discovered, and right here where it joins the North Pacific is the roughest part. The sky in the southwest in the direction of Paramushiru had suddenly turned black, while due west it was still clear. So we headed toward the Komandorskis, deciding to take our chances with the Bolsheviks rather than face the wrath of the storm. For three hours we flew out of sight of land,

wondering all the time what the Russians would think when they saw three giant planes swoop down out of the sky in this remote region where even ships only come about once a year.

After we had changed our course to avoid the storm and headed for the Komandorskis, our nearest land was Copper Island, two hundred and seventy miles away. This island is nine miles long and one mile wide—not a very large object, and one that could be easily missed in an ocean, had our navigation been at fault. This was our first long water flight and consequently our first real test, so that, after straining our eyes for hours in an effort to sight Copper Island, it was rather a triumph to see it eventually "dead ahead," over our radiator caps.

At 3:05 we arrived over Copper Island, heading northwest toward Bering Island, the largest of the group, and at five o'clock saw a dent in the coast and the wireless towers of the Soviet looming above the village of Nikolski. About the same moment I spotted the "Eider" [an American supply ship] five miles offshore. But it was too rough for us to come down away out there, and her officers, realizing this, steamed to three miles from Nikolski and dropped buoys while we circled above the island.

Although it was early Wednesday morning of May 15, when we left Attu, and we were only five hours in the air, it was Thursday afternoon, May 16, when we landed at the Komandorskis, for we had crossed

the one hundred and eightieth meridian, where time changes, and had dropped a day of our lives.

As we taxied toward the buoys, a boat put out from shore, so after mooring we climbed back in our cockpits ready to take off again if necessary. The boat came alongside, with five men on board, two in uniform and three in civilian clothes. All had long beards, and looked just as Russians marooned away out here ought to look. None could speak English and of course we knew as little about their language as we knew about Chinese. . . . Fortunately, there was a sailor on the "Eider" who was a Lithuanian from Chicago and proved a capable interpreter. We explained that we had been forced to put in at their islands because of storms to the south. When we assured them that we were birds of passage winging our way round the world, and that we merely desired to remain overnight, they said they would send a wireless message to Moscow to see what Comrade Trotsky had to say. . . . At daylight just as we were getting ready to take off, out came the bearded committee in their little boat with word from Moscow that we could not be allowed to stop there. We thanked them for their courtesy, and chuckled to ourselves a bit because we had already remained as long as we wanted. . . . And at 9:30 a.m. on the 17th of May we were over a headland jutting out into the ocean beneath us and knew that we were at last above the continent of Asia and had completed the first aerial crossing of the Pacific.

Strung out between Iceland and Greenland, about one hundred and twenty-five miles apart, were five American ships, the cruiser "Richmond," with Rear-Admiral Magruder on board, the cruiser "Raleigh," and the destroyers "Barry," "Reid," and "Billingsby." Captain Lyman A. Cotton, in command of the Admiral's flagship "Richmond," described this stretch from Iceland to Greenland as the longest and most difficult leg of the trans-Atlantic flight. Says Lieutenant Smith:

We realized when we passed over the "Billingsby" that it would be good-bye to her. So we flew low in order to wave to our old friends, and we were cheered to find that the sailors had painted "Good Luck" in huge white letters on the deck. Perhaps the telling of this sounds prosaic, but to us, out there in the middle of the North Atlantic on the most dangerous leg of our World Flight, such encouragement from our Navy friends made an impression that looms large in our memories even now. Next we passed the "Barry," displaying two flags from her yard. This was a signal to notify us that there was dangerous weather ahead. But it was too late to turn back now. Nor was there any place to park out there in the Atlantic midway between Iceland and Greenland. There was nothing we could do but carry-on and trust in Providence and our Liberty motors. . . . Seventy-five miles out from Greenland we struck the first floes. As we neared the coast, the

ice increased until we were flying over a seemingly endless expanse of fantastic bergs of every size and shape. Some looked as high as the Chicago Tribune Tower or the Woolworth Building. Had we seen them under different conditions the sight, no doubt, would have inspired us. As it was, they were terrifying, because we never saw them until we were right upon them. We had to fly as low as thirty feet off the water in order to keep our bearings at all, so you can just imagine the close shaves we had while playing tag and leap-frog with those icebergs!

We were traveling along at a speed of ninety miles an hour, and could see only between a hundred and a hundred and fifty feet ahead, so use your own imagination as to how soon a plane traveling at that speed could use up the distance that we could see, and then try and figure out how little time was left us to sight a berg ahead, decide which way to turn, and then execute the maneuver. Three times we came so suddenly upon huge icebergs that there was no time left to do any deciding. We simply jerked the wheel back for a quick climb, and were lucky enough to zoom over the top of it into the still denser fog above. Here we were completely lost and unable to see beyond the prop and wing-tips. Blindly we would grope and feel our way downward, hoping against hope that the little space we should eventually descend into just above the surface of the water would be clear of ice for a great enough distance to enable

us to glance around, size up the situation, and get set for dodging the next one.

We are often asked why we didn't fly above the fog. Excellent idea!—except for the following reasons: we did try to climb out of it, but the fog apparently had no ceiling, while, with the extra heavy load of gas and oil we were carrying, about eight thousand feet was as high as we could go. Moreover, some of the mountains along the Greenland coast rise to eight and ten thousand feet. So had we climbed to our limit there still would have been plenty of room for us to crash into the top of one of those mountains just as Major Martin had done in Alaska. So our best bet was to keep low, just above the water, where the fog was thinnest and where we had at least a Chinaman's chance of seeing what was ahead and then dodging it.

But finally what we feared would happen, did happen. Diving through a small patch of extra heavy fog that was clinging close to the water, we emerged on the other side to find ourselves plunging straight toward a wall of white. The "New Orleans" was close behind us with that huge berg looming in front. I banked steeply to the right while Erik and Jack swung sharply to the left. Both left wings seemed to graze the edge of the berg as we shot past it. And in far less time than it takes to tell it the two planes were lost from each other. I headed in toward shore. Erik, as we learned later, turned out to the sea, making a wide circle of thirty miles or so before swing-

ing back on the course. From then on we saw nothing of each other and neither knew but what the other had crashed into that floating mountain. But we had no time to think of anything but our own problem right then. Things were happening fast—faster than they had ever happened in all our lives.

For another hour we dodged icebergs and shadows that fairly seemed to leap at us out of the fog. Suddenly, instead of the white ghostlike shadows of the icebergs we had been passing, a dark patch loomed up in front of us. That was encouraging, because we knew it must be land, and we knew that at last we had reached the mainland of Greenland. . . .

Finally, we arrived over where, according to our charts, we thought Fredricksdal ought to be, and watched anxiously for an opening in the clouds. We circled around several times, and then the All-Wise Providence, who had already spared our lives a dozen times on this day's journey, parted the clouds for us so that there was a shaft of light extending down to the sea. Far below we spied a boat emitting clouds of black smoke. We knew she must be the Danish coast guard cutter, sending up smoke signals for us, because there was no other ship in these waters. Her guns were firing and her whistle was blowing, but, of course, we could hear nothing above the roar of our Liberty. Throttling down, we spiraled through the providential cloudrift and landed alongside her at five-thirty in the afternoon. . . . Forty minutes later, we heard the welcome hum of a Liberty, which meant that Erik and Jack were arriving. Imagine how

Calvin Coolidge
Thirtieth President of the United States

glad we were to hear that old familiar sound in the sky! It sounded like a hymn of triumph. No choir of celestial angels could have sounded half so beautiful. For ten minutes or more we could hear the "New Orleans" circling around above the fog, hunting for Fredricksdal just as we had hunted. Suddenly they, too, spotted the same cloudrift that had guided us, and down they dropped. In landing, they nipped the top of a big wave and slightly damaged one pontoon. But a mishap like that after all we had passed through on our eight-hundred-and-thirty-five-mile flight from Reykjavik seemed about the most inconsequential thing in the world. We had made Fredricksdal; we had completed the first flight from Iceland to Greenland; the Atlantic and Pacific were crossed; success was now in sight, for just across Davis Strait lay North America!

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT COOLIDGE DELIVERED TO ROUND-THE-WORLD FLYERS AT ICY TICKLE, LABRADOR

YOUR history-making flight has been followed with absorbing interest by your countrymen, and your return to North American soil is an inspiration to the whole nation. You will be welcomed back to the United States with an eagerness and enthusiasm that I am sure will compensate for the hardship you have undergone. Your countrymen are proud of you. My congratulations and heartiest good wishes go to you at this hour of your landing.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

# THE DAWES PLAN TO COLLECT FROM GERMANY

*A Contemporary Analysis from "Current Opinion"*

*EARLY in 1924, Charles Gates Dawes, a former Comptroller of the Currency and Chairman of the General Purchasing Board of the A. E. F. during the Great War, headed a committee appointed by the Reparations Commission to investigate the possibilities of a German budget and the capability of Germany to pay her debts under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. After an exhaustive investigation, the Dawes Report, or Plan, was laid before the Commission, and was promptly accepted by France (with some reservations), Great Britain, Italy, Belgium and, last but not least, Germany. The United States offered to assist in a loan of $400,000,000 to Germany, on condition that the Dawes Plan be applied as written.*

*Here is a summary and interpretation of it, taken from "Current Opinion" for May, 1924, which reflects the general attitude of the creditor nations toward Germany at that time. Dawes was elected Vice-President in 1924.*

AFTER deluges of rumor, we now have the Dawes Report. In substance, it is British; in form, it saves the face of France; and it represents a momentous advance towards economic peace in Europe. Here is precisely what the report means:

First, the French army remains in the Ruhr, but the occupation becomes "invisible." All German industries are restored to Germany.

Secondly, while the total of German reparations, namely 33 billion dollars, is not in terms reduced, the annual payments from Germany, at present amounting to a nominal 2 billion dollars, are limited to 250 million dollars the first year; rising

to about 600 million dollars in the fifth or normal year. If the Allies take commodities, Germany is to be credited with the value. In other words, the above sums are inclusive. This represents a cut of Germany's total annual payments of seven-eighths at the outset and two-thirds in a normal year. The British payments to the United States are, by the way, about 150 million dollars a year.

The contributions by Germany are to be assisted at the outset by a foreign loan, but, in a normal year, are to be derived from (1) the budget, (2) the railways and (3) a mortgage on all Germany's industries.

In a normal year 300 million dollars will come from the taxes. On the railroads, bonds will be secured, the interest on which, with other receipts, will produce 225 million dollars. And on the general industries there will be bonds producing 75 million dollars for a normal year. There is to be a prosperity index which will show at any given time whether Germany can be expected to pay larger sums than stipulated.

All Germany's internal debts are wiped out with the fall of the mark. She can thus create external obligations like the above and still balance her domestic budget. She will be expected to do this. As for her credits abroad, the Committee over which the British banker, Reginald McKenna, presides, has reported that at the end of 1923 Germany had about $1,700,000,000 thus deposited in foreign countries, chiefly

as the result of selling marks to a million too trustful buyers, who have suffered a total loss.

The Reichsbank (or a substitute) is to be set up in Berlin and is again to issue a currency, backed by the gold standard. This means that German marks, as now reckoned by the quadrillion, will cease to be a grim financial jest.

In order to meet her initial payments of reparations and to establish a gold reserve as basis of her new currency, Germany must borrow 200 million dollars from other countries. And she must submit to a measure of international control of her finances, her railways and her industrial bonds, allocated to reparations. For the control of these vast affairs, there is to be a dependence, in some measure, on the League of Nations, with the hope that the United States will participate, if only by "observation" and friendly counsel.

A document so detailed and complicated as the Dawes Report, which is made public as we go to press, and the acceptance of which is expected of both France and Germany, is not easy thus rapidly to summarize. Naturally, it has been blessed by Sir John Bradbury, the spokesman of the Bank of England. It is not less natural that, even in accepting the Report, Paris should be suspicious. Will Germany pay even the reduced amount? Is she not building up an army of 300,000 men, or three times the allowance under the Treaty of Versailles? Did not Bismarck's birthday lead to demonstrations on

behalf of a Kaiser? Is not Stresemann himself talking in favor of the monarchy? And has not Bavaria acquitted Ludendorff amid profuse demonstrations of exuberance? At the German Elections, so often postponed and now inevitable, the German National Party is demanding a plebiscite on "the king question," and attacks of toothache have necessitated frequent visits to Berlin on the part of the Crown Prince. The Imperial Flag is popular and there is "a drive" for the creator of the German Navy, Admiral von Tirpitz. The results of the Bavarian elections are reactionary. And Germany has anticipated the Dawes Report by a reluctant howl of calculated anguish, accentuated by the death of her chief industrialist, Hugo Stinnes.

All this has given France a fit of the nerves. And she has approached Great Britain in order to obtain a defensive alliance as the price doubtless of acquiescence in the Dawes Report. Prime Minister Macdonald in London has replied that such guarantee must depend on agreement over reparations and must be arranged through the League of Nations. To this, the attitude of Poincaré [the French Premier] is reported to be that he would be ready to admit Germany in September to the League of Nations, provided that Germany has accepted the Dawes Report and submitted to examination of her alleged armaments.

In the teeth of this situation, the "Berliner Tageblatt" has published what it declares to be the secret treaty signed by France and Czecho-Slovakia on

January 25, 1914. In any war with Germany, France and Czecho-Slovakia will support one another. And both powers will support Poland in a war with Germany. In a war between Poland and Russia, the two signatory powers will remain neutral. If Austria tries to join Germany, the two powers will occupy her territory; and if Germany restores the Hohenzollerns, war on her will be declared. While attempts are to be made to establish friendly relations with Russia, any attack by Russia on Roumania will be resisted by France and Czecho-Slovakia. The two powers will oppose Italy's attempt to dominate the Mediterranean.

While Foreign Secretary Benes, of Czecho-Slovakia, declares that these documents are "forged," one does not seem to find so explicit a disclaimer on the part of France. . . . The calm economics of Messrs. Dawes and McKenna are thus enunciated amid a whirlpool of intrigue.

# SIGNS OF A REAL PEACE TREATY AT LOCARNO

*Official Text on the Treaty*

*EUROPE went to Locarno, Switzerland, in August of 1925 to declare peace, and on October 16 representatives of Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy initialed the accompanying treaty of mutual guarantee, which was formally signed in London, December 1, 1925. Originally written in French, this is the translation issued by the British Foreign Office.*

*In permanent effect, the most important feature of the treaty is the British and Italian guarantee of France against foreign aggression. Diplomatically, the treaty may be regarded as a British victory, in that in a three-cornered arrangement between Great Britain, France and Germany to keep the peace of Europe, the former would have the deciding voice.*

*Not being a member of the League of Nations at the time of the Locarno Conference, the United States had no voice in it, and is not mentioned in the treaty.*

THE President of the German Reich, his Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the Republic of France, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India; his Majesty the King of Italy; anxious to satisfy the desire for security and protection which animates the peoples upon whom fell the scourge of the war of 1914-1918; taking note of the abrogation of the treaties for the neutralization of Belgium, and conscious of the necessity of insuring peace in the area which has so freqently been the scene of European conflicts; animated also with the sincere desire of giving to all the signatory

powers concerned supplementary guarantees within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the treaties in force between them; have determined to conclude a treaty with these objects and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries [the Plenipotentiaries with their titles are named here], who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I—The high contracting parties collectively and severally guarantee, in the manner provided in the following articles, the maintenance of the territorial status quo resulting from the frontiers between Germany and Belgium and between Germany and France and the inviolability of the said frontiers as fixed by or in pursuance of the treaty of peace signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, and also the observance of the stipulations of Articles 42 or 43 of the said treaty concerning the demilitarized zone.

ARTICLE II—Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other. This stipulation shall not, however, apply in the case of: (1) The exercise of the right of legitimate defense; that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the previous paragraph or to a flagrant breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the said Treaty of Versailles, if such breach constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and by reason of the assembly of armed forces

in the demilitarized zone immediate action is necessary. (2) Action in pursuance of Article XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations. (3) Action as the result of a decision taken by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations or in pursuance of Article XV, Paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, provided that in this last event the action is directed against a State which was the first to attack.

ARTICLE III—In view of the undertakings entered into in Article II of the present treaty, Germany and Belgium and Germany and France undertake to settle by peaceful means and in the manner laid down herein all questions of every kind which may arise between them and which it may not be possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy: any question with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall be submitted to judicial decision, and the parties undertake to comply with such decision. All other questions shall be submitted to a conciliation commission. If the proposals of this commission are not accepted by the two parties, the question shall be brought before the Council of the League of Nations, which will deal with it in accordance with Article XV of the Covenant of the League. The detailed arrangements for effecting such peaceful settlements are the subject of special agreements signed this day.

ARTICLE IV—(1) If one of the high contracting parties alleges that a violation of Article II of the

present treaty or a breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles has been or is being committed it shall bring the question at once before the Council of the League of Nations. (2) As soon as the Council of the League of Nations is satisfied that such violation or breach has been committed, it will notify its finding without delay to the powers signatory of the present treaty, who severally agree that in such case they will each of them come immediately to the assistance of the power against whom the act complained of is directed. (3) In case of a flagrant violation of Article II of the present treaty or of a flagrant breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles by one of the high contracting parties, each of the other contracting parties hereby undertakes immediately to come to the help of the party against whom such a violation or breach has been directed as soon as the said power has been able to satisfy itself that this violation constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and that by reason either of the crossing of the frontier or of the outbreak of hostilities or of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarized zone immediate action is necessary. Nevertheless the Council of the League of Nations which will be seized of the question in accordance with the first paragraph of this article will issue its findings, and the high contracting parties undertake to act in accordance with the recommendations of the Council provided that they are concurred in by all the mem-

bers other than the representatives of the parties which have engaged in hostilities.

ARTICLE V—The provisions of Article III of the present treaty are placed under the guarantee of the high contracting parties as provided by the following stipulations: If one of the powers referred to in Article III refuses to submit a dispute to peaceful settlement or to comply with an arbitral or judicial decision and commits a violation of Article II of the present treaty or a breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles the provisions of Article IV shall apply. Where one of the powers referred to in Article III without committing a violation of Article II of the present treaty or a breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles, refuses to submit a dispute to peaceful settlement or to comply with an arbitral or judicial decision, the other party shall bring the matter before the Council of the League of Nations, and the Council shall propose what steps shall be taken; the high contracting parties shall comply with these proposals.

ARTICLE VI—The provisions of the present treaty do not affect the rights and obligations of the high contracting parties under the Treaty of Versailles or under arrangements supplementary thereto including the agreements signed in London on August 30, 1924.

ARTICLE VII—The present treaty, which is designed to ensure the maintenance of peace and is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Na-

tions, shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

ARTICLE VIII—The present treaty shall be registered at the League of Nations in accordance with the Covenant of the League. It shall remain in force until the Council, acting on a request of one or other of the high contracting parties notified to the other signatory powers three months in advance, and voting at least by a two-thirds majority, decides that the League of Nations ensures sufficient protection to the high contracting parties. The treaty shall cease to have effect on the expiration of a period of one year from such decision.

ARTICLE IX—The present treaty shall impose no obligation upon any of the British Dominions, or upon India, unless the Government of such Dominion, or of India, signifies its acceptance thereof.

ARTICLE X—The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be deposited at Geneva in the archives of the League of Nations as soon as possible. It shall enter into force as soon as all the ratifications have been deposited and Germany has become a member of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, done in a single copy, will be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, and the Secretary General will be requested to transmit certified copies to each of the high contracting parties.

In faith whereof the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at Locarno, the sixteenth of October, 1925.

LUTHER.
STRESEMANN.
EMILE VANDERVELDE.
A. BRIAND.
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.
BENITO MUSSOLINI.

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS


## Volume I

PAGE

The Recall of Columbus . . . . . *Frontispiece*
The Cell of Prior Perez, Palos, Spain . . . . 128
Columbus departing from Palos . . . . . 160
Americus Vespucius . . . . . 192

## Volume II

Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1622 . . . *Frontispiece*
Saint Augustine and Fort San Juan de Piños . . 32
Captain John Smith . . . . . 80
William Penn's Treaty with the Indians . . . 240

## Volume III

The Cambridge Elm . . . . . *Frontispiece*
The Old State House, Boston, Massachusetts . 80
Signing the Declaration of Independence . . 176
The Moore House at Yorktown, Virginia . . . 304

## Volume IV

The American Peace Commission . . . . *Frontispiece*
The Old Hasbrouck Mansion, Newburgh, N. Y. . 32
Tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon . . . . 256

## Volume V

Monticello, the Home of Thomas Jefferson *Frontispiece*
Sacajawea, the Bird Woman . . . . . 64
"Old Ironsides"—in the Charlestown Navy Yard 160
Perry's Victory on Lake Erie . . . . . 176

## Volume VI

The Hermitage, Nashville, Tenn. . . . *Frontispiece*
Webster's reply to Hayne . . . . . 64
The Alamo, San Antonio, Texas . . . . . 208

## Volume VII

PAGE

Abraham Lincoln . . . . . *Frontispiece*
The Mormon Temple, in Salt Lake City, Utah . 112
Westward Ho! . . . . . 128
John Brown on his way to Execution . . . . 288

## Volume VIII

"Peace in Union" . . . . . *Frontispiece*
Arlington Mansion . . . . . 144
Last meeting of Lee and Jackson . . . . . 176
The Lincoln Funeral Cortège, New York City . 304

## Volume IX

Ulysses S. Grant . . . . . *Frontispiece*
The Chicago Fire . . . . . 128
Tomb of General Grant (*New York City*) . . . 272

## Volume X

The Deadline in Cabañas . . . . . *Frontispiece*
The Charge up San Juan Hill . . . . . 128
The San Francisco Fire . . . . . 248

## Volume XI

Theodore Roosevelt and Emperor William, I *Frontispiece*
Treaty Guaranteeing the Nationality of Belgium 80
The "Lusitania" Sailing On Her Last Voyage . . 264
The Ruins of Fort Vaux at Verdun . . . . 296

## Volume XII

President Wilson Addressing Congress . . *Frontispiece*
General Pershing at the Tomb of Lafayette . . 48
The Signing of the Treaty of Versailles . . . 208
Calvin Coolidge . . . . . 256

# INDEX

## A


ABOLITION, apathy toward, in free states, vi:91; first Anti-slavery convention, 1833, vi:156; incites the murder of Lovejoy, vi:239

ABOLITION PARTY, resemblance of Republican party to, vii:202; victories of 1854-55, vii:203

ABOLITION PRESS, destroyed in Alton, vi:243

ABOLITION PUBLICATIONS, dangers arising from sending into southern states, vi:189; legality questioned, vi:189; forbidden under penalty, vi:192

ABOLITIONISTS, activities of, vii:154; oppose the annexation of Texas, vi:231; persecution of, in New England, vi:195

ACADIANS, deportation of, iii:54

ACRELIUS, REV. ISRAEL, biographical note, ii:159; Founding of New Sweden, ii:159

ADAMS, ABIGAIL (Mrs. John Adams), characteristics, v:13; Washington city in its infancy, v:13

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, as arbitrator in the *Alabama* claims, ix:115

ADAMS, JOHN, iii:106n; First Continental congress, iii:106; Our first minister to England, iv:93; presentation address at court of George III., iv:95; Treaty of Paris, iv:43, 48; statements on the Declaration of Independence refuted by Jefferson, iii:166; why Jefferson was chosen to write the Declaration, iii:180

ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY, defeated in presidential election, vi:38; Dickens' impression of, vi:300; Discussing the terms of peace before signing Treaty of Ghent, v:263; gives Northern view of the Missouri compromise, v:309; Seeds of war (of 1812), v:120

ADAMS, SAMUEL, British attempt to capture, iii:119

AERONAUTICS, activity in, x:188; studies and experiments of the Wright brothers, x:184

AGUINALDO, EMILIO, capture of, x:223; character, and bearing when captured, v:236

AIRPLANES, (*see also Aviation*): duels, xii:149, 151; first to fly successfully, x:184; in battle of Meuse-Argonne, xii:138

AISNE, Battle of the, xi:193

*Alabama,* sinking of, viii:229

ALABAMA CLAIMS and the Geneva award; *text,* ix:115

ALAMO, bodies of its defenders burned by Mexicans, vi:215; built by the Spaniards 1757, vi:201; siege and fall, vi:200, 206, 217

ALASKA, gold rush, 1899-1900, x:73; President Harding's visit, xii:244; purchase of, ix:31, 38

ALBANY, convention (1754), iii:38; Lafayette's reception, vi:32

ALBERT, KING OF BELGIUM, scene of his appearance before Parliament, xi:101; speech to Parliament, August 4, 1914, xi:112

ALCALDE, American, at Monterey, vii:52

ALCARAZ, DIEGO DE, covenants not to molest Indians, i:257; mistreatment of Indians, i:254

ALEXANDER VI, POPE, Bull dividing the new world; text, i:178

ALHAMBRA, surrender, i:124

ALLBRIGHT, JACOB, testimony from the trial of Aaron Burr, v:71

ALLEN, ETHAN, dramatic capture of Ticonderoga, iii:147

ALLIED ARMIES, break German line at battle of the Marne, xi:184; difficulties and discouragements at time of America's entry into the war, xii:55; occupation of the Rhineland, xii:193; officials confer on future Allied opera-

tions, xii:117, 119, 121; plans for continuing the Foch attack, xii:139; retreat to the Marne, xi:162; Supreme war council appoints Foch Commander-in-chief, xii:74; transportation conditions when armistice was proposed, xii:145
ALSTON, LT., offer to Davis to assassinate Lincoln, viii:307
ALTGELD, JOHN P., attitude toward strikers, x:61
AMADAS, CAPT. PHILIP, First voyage to Roanoke, 1584, ii:47
AMBRISTER, ROBERT C., aids Indian depredations, v:277, 286
AMERICA, Columbus' discovery, i:153; Columbus' last voyage, i:205; first English discovery, i:198; naming of, i:216; pre-Columbian voyages, 1000-1562, i:17
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, vi:91, 156, 161; constitution, vi:161; principles, vi:165; legal right to send insurrectionary publications into southern states, questioned, vi:189
AMERICAN CHARACTERISTICS described by Dickens, vi:301; by Benjamin Franklin, iv:68; by Lafayette, iii:219
AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS, treaty making powers questioned by Great Britain, iv:91
AMERICAN CUSTOMS, 1811, v:96
AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, iv:61, 68
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, president approves conscription, xii:42
AMERICAN INTERVENTION proposed in 1916, xi:300
AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION, organization and activities, x:55
AMERICAN SEAMEN, impressment of, v:118, 120, 130
AMERICAN SOLDIERS kill Indian flag-bearers, vi:133, 136, 145
AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY, fights Wilson Tariff bill, x:47
AMERICANS, number of, enlisted in military, naval and Liberty loan armies, xii:79; subject to Mexican outrages, xii:13
AMERICANS IN MEXICO, Wilson's warning in message to Congress: *text*, x:306
ANARCHISTS in Chicago, 1886, ix:274
ANDERSON, ROBERT, commands Fort Sumter, viii:50, 58
ANDRÉ, JOHN, execution, iii:291; letters to Washington, iii:286, 288, 290
ANDREWS, E. BENJAMIN, biographical note, ix:97, 159; Overthrow of the Tweed ring, ix:97; Panic of 1873, ix:159; World's Columbian exposition, x:37
ANDROS, SIR EDMUND, as governor of New England provinces, ii:234; Charter oak affair of Connecticut, ii:234
ANESTHESIA, surgical, discovery, vii:63
ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE, abandonment of, xii:227n, 237
ANTIETAM, battle of, vii:139
ANTI-SLAVERY convention, first, 1833, vi:156
ANTI-SLAVERY mail, *see Abolition publications*
ANTWERP, Belgium, capitulates, xi:207
ANZACS at Gallipoli, xi:275
APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, battle of, viii:278; surrender of Lee, viii:286
ARBUTHNOT, ALEXANDER, incites Indian depredations, v:277, 284
ARCHER, GABRIEL, Groswold's settlement at Cuttyhunk, i:294
ARGONNE, battle of the, xii:131
ARMAMENTS, Conference on the limitation of, xii:227; resolution of Hague peace conference, xii:233
ARMIES OF OCCUPATION in the Rhineland, xii:193
ARMIES, STANDING, dangers of in times of peace, v:45
ARMISTEAD, GEN. LEWIS A., death at Gettysburg, viii:194
ARMISTICE PLENIPOTENTIARIES, French treatment of, xii:160
ARMS, exportation to Mexico, forbidden in Wilson's message to Congress, (*text*), x:307
ARMY PAY delays after end of Revolution, iv:29; cause Philadelphia mutiny, iv:36
ARNOLD, BENEDICT, treason, iii:282, 284
ARNOLD, LT. LESLIE P., in first world flight, xii:250

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, Madison's reasons for its failure to work, iv:83
ASSASSINATION of Austrian heirs, 1914, xi:13; of Garfield, ix:242; of Lincoln, viii:306; of McKinley, x:202
ASSEMBLY, first representative, (1619) at James City, Virginia, ii:90
ATKINSON, GEN. HENRY, vi:126
ATLANTIC CABLE, failure, 1858, vii:253; success, 1866, ix:20
ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH COMPANY, organized to finance Atlantic cable, ix:20
ATZERODT, GEORGE, viii:309, 311
AUSTRIA, Archduke of and his wife, assassinated, xi:13; attitude toward Serbia and its allies shown in letter to Kaiser, July 1914, xi:13
AUSTRIAN ARMY, demoralization of, at Przemysl, xi:256; victories in Galicia, xi:269
AUTOMOBILE, invention and business of Henry Ford, x:13
AVIATION, (*see also Airplanes*): American air service in France, xii:147; first world flight, xii:250

## B

*Back to normalcy,* xii:238
BACON, NATHANIEL, ancestry, character, etc., ii:224; rebellion, ii:223
BAINBRIDGE, COMMODORE WILLIAM, achievements, v:160; capture and destruction of the *Java,* v:160; in war with Tripoli, v:17
BAIRD, GEN. ABSALOM, in battle of Chickamauga, viii:204
BALBOA, VASCO NUÑEZ DE, discovers the Pacific Ocean, i:221
BALFOUR, ARTHUR J., asks financial help for Great Britain, xii:49
BALKAN STATES, Austria's attitude toward Balkan alliances shown in letter of Franz Joseph, July 1914, xi:13
BALLIN, ALBERT, approaches Churchill about England's neutrality, xi:55
BALTIMORE, British attack defenses near, v:223
BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD, first journey by steam, vi:68
BANCROFT, FREDERIC, Purchase of Alaska, ix:38
BANCROFT, GEORGE, biographical note, i:217; Ponce de Leon in Florida, i:217
BANK NOTES, merchants', vi:254
BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, constitutionality of, brought before Supreme Court; affirmed by Chief Justice Marshall, vi:118; Alexander Hamilton's opinion, vi:118; President Jackson vetoes bill to renew charter, vi:111; censured by Senate, vi:180
BANKING, INVESTMENT, influence of Federal Reserve Act, x:312
BANKING ACT to end panics, x:309
BANKRUPTCY faces the new republic, iv:27
BANKS, panic (1837), vi:248; (1893), x:28; (1907), x:254; power of the Federal government to incorporate, v:297
BANKS, NATIONAL, Clearing-house febrifuge to weather panic of 1873, ix:166
BARCELONA, reception of Columbus in, i:172
BARCLAY, CAPT. ROBERT H., British account of the battle of Lake Erie, v:176
BARLOWE, CAPTAIN ARTHUR, first voyage to Roanoke, 1584, ii:47
BARRON, COMMODORE JAMES, Chesapeake outrage, v:78
BARRY, RICHARD, Assassination of McKinley, x:202
BASMA, kingdom of, i:91
BASSOMPIÉRRE, ALFRED DE, Delivery of the German ultimatum to Belgium, xi:68
BATES, EDWARD, vii:299
BATTENBURG, PRINCE LOUIS OF, loyalty as First Sea Lord of England, xi:58
BATTLES, NAVAL (*see also battles by name*): capture and destruction of the *Java,* v:160; of the *Philadelphia,* v:17; capture of Cervera and the Spanish fleet, x:134; *Constitution* captures the *Guerriere,* v:154, 157; destruction of the *Emden* by the *Sydney,* xi:128, 130; engagement of *Chesapeake* and *Shannon,* v:166; English-German battle of Dogger Bank, xi:241; English-German engagement off Jutland, xi:306;

English victory over Germans off the Falkland Islands, xi:225; fight between the *Chesapeake* and the *Leopard,* 1807, v:78; German victory over English off Coronel, Chile, xi:220; horrors of sea fights, xi:243, 247, 263; *President Lincoln* (transport) destroyed by submarine, xii:84; sea fighting off Heligoland, xi:158; sinking of the *Lusitania,* xi:261; *U-9* destroys British warships, xi:202

BEATTY, VICE-ADM. SIR DAVID, at battle of Dogger Bank, xi:241; battle of Jutland, xi:306; order to haul down German flag, xii:184, 186; Sea fighting on Heligoland, xi:158

BEAUREGARD, GEN. PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT DE, commands attack on Fort Sumter, viii:56; conference with Hood, viii:250; in the battle of Bull Run, viii:64; report of fall of Fort Sumter to Jefferson Davis; *text,* viii:58

BEHRING SEA troubles with Great Britain, ix:309

BELGIAN ARMY at siege of Antwerp, xi:207; destroy ships in harbor, xi:210

BELGIUM, Germany's Ultimatum, *text,* xi:72; delivery by eye-witness, xi:68; reply, *text,* xi:74; munitions contracts with the Krupps prove Belgian neutrality, xi:81; revelation of Germany's purposes in regard to, xi:68, 72; Whitlock's description of scenes in Parliament, August 4, 1914, xi:101

BELGIUM, NEUTRALITY OF, British obligations, xi:90; German guarantees, xi:68; violations upheld by German officials, xi:77

BELL, ALEXANDER GRAHAM, story of the telephone told by Watson, ix:207

BELLEAU WOOD captured by Americans, xii:83

BELLICOURT stormed, xii:130

BELOW-SALESKE, VON, request that Brand Whitlock take over German legation in Brussels, xi:109

BENTON, THOMAS H., aids in settling Oregon boundary dispute, vii:19; attitude toward Indian reserves, vii:209; Benton opposes statements of de Tocqueville, vi:40; biographical notes and extracts from his writings, vi:25, 34, 38; vii:13; emigration into Oregon, vi:287; Frémont's invasion of California, vii:44; how Texas was annexed, vi:313; Lafayette's triumphal tour in 1824, vi:34; last Seminole war, vi:255; war clouds over Oregon, vii:13

BERCHTOLD, COUNT LEOPOLD, activities in Serbian affair, xi:121

BERKELEY, VICE-ADM. B. C., *Chesapeake* outrage, v:78

BERKELEY, SIR WILLIAM, rebellion of Bacon, ii:223

BERNARD, JOHN, in America, iv:234; Washington as a host at Mt. Vernon, iv:234

BERZY-LE-SEC, FRANCE, capture of, xii:115

BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, CHANCELLOR THEOBALD VON, interview with British ambassador about violation of Belgian neutrality, xi:77

*Big Berthas* (cannon) bombard Paris, xii:67; description and operation, xii:68

BIGELOW, DR. HENRY J., aids demonstration of surgical anesthesia, vii:65

BIGELOW, JOHN, on the Trent affair, viii:79

BILL OF RIGHTS given Cuba during American occupation, x:163

BIMETALLISM, attitude of Bryan, x:86

*Bird woman, see Sacajawea*

BIRTH of first white child in America, i:50; first white child in New England, ii:115; first white child in Virginia, ii:67

BISMARCK-SCHÖNHAUSEN, OTTO EDWARD LEOPOLD, PRINCE VON, conflict with United States over Samoan Islands, ix:295; encounters first diplomatic reverse, ix:303

BLACK FRIDAY (1869), ix:76; (1873), ix:159

BLACK HAWK, British advise to remain at peace with Americans, vi:137; dress of white deer skin, vi:147; gives himself up at Prairie du Chien, vi:147; prepares a dog feast, vi:130, 139; receives help from Kishwacokee Indians, vi:137

BLACK HAWK WAR, from Black Hawk's autobiography, vi:125; Indian flag-bearers killed by the Americans, vi:133, 136, 145
BLAINE, JAMES GILLESPIE, Behring Sea fisheries, ix:309; biographical note, ix:251; foreign policy, ix:237n; Greeley campaign, ix:143; North American relations to South America, ix:237; on the disbanding of the Federal army, viii:301; presidential campaign against Cleveland, ix:251; reciprocity section of McKinley Tariff bill, ix:304; urged to run for presidency, ix:287; War with Mexico declared, vii:75
BLAIR, FRANCIS P., brings about Hampton Roads conference, viii:267
BLAIR, JUDGE MONTGOMERY, vii:296
BLENNERHASSETT and Burr, testimony of Allbright against, v:71
BLISS, DR. D. W., ix:245
BLODGET, COL. LEONARD, vi:277, 279
BOABDIL, surrender of, i:124
BONAPARTE, LUCIEN, iv:294; How Napoleon persisted in selling Louisiana, iv:294
BONHAM, J. B., in the Alamo, vi:205
*Bon Homme Richard* (American man-of-war) captures the *Serapis,* iii:273; sinks, iii:280
BOONE, DANIEL, migrates to Kentucky (his own account), iii:89
BOOTH, JOHN WILKES, viii:309; assassinates Lincoln, viii:316
BORDEAUX, made seat of French government, xi:172
BOSTON, evacuation by British, iii:164; fur trade in the Northwest, iv:151; mob attacks Garrison, vi:195; siege and capture, iii:158
BOSTON MASSACRE, described by an eye-witness, iii:85
BOSTON TEA PARTY, iii:96
*Boston* (airplane) wrecked in Faroe Islands, xii:250
BOUDINOT, ELIAS, iv:36; mutinous troops threaten Congress, iv:36
BOUNDARIES OF THE UNITED STATES: provisions of Treaty of Ghent, v:258; in Treaty of Paris, iv:44
BOURGOGNE FOREST captured by Americans, xii:141
BOWIE, JAMES, elected colonel, vi:203; in the siege of the Alamo, vi:209
BOXER REBELLION, x:170
BOXERS (Chinese), meaning of, x:170
BOYLE, ROBERT, letter from John Eliot, ii:260
BRADDOCK, GEN. EDWARD, defeat, iii:51
BRADFORD, WILLIAM, character and achievements, ii:101n; Voyage of the *Mayflower,* ii:101
*Brandywine* (frigate) conveys Lafayette back to France, vi:37
BRECKENRIDGE, HENRY M., battle of the Thames, v:181
BREST-LITOVSK CONFERENCE calls forth Wilson's "fourteen points" reply, xii:61
BRIEY iron region, xii:57, 119, 123, 143
BRIGHT, JOHN, letter to Sumner, xi:235; refuses to condemn United States in *Trent* affair, viii:83
BRITISH ARMY aids Americans in breaking the Hindenburg line, xii:127; at Antwerp, xi:207; bravery of raw recruits, xi:209; at Gallipoli, xi:275; at Mons, xi:144; at Neuve Chapelle, xi:258; at Ypres, xi:212; delay in joining French, August 1914, xi:163; weakening of, draws personal appeal from Haig, xii:76
BRITISH DOMINIONS, Treaty of Locarno imposes no obligations upon, xii:268
BRITISH GUIANA and Venezuela, boundary question, x:64
BRITISH NAVY (*see also Battles, naval*): bravery of men, xi:205; in California waters, 1846, vii:46; requisitions Turkish battleships, xi:60; slips into North Sea, xi:53; strength at outbreak of war, xi:58; warship destroyed by U-9, xi:202
BRITISH PEKIN LEGATION during the Boxer rebellion, x:170
BRODHEAD, JOHN ROMEYN, English conquest of New York, ii:187; historical achievements, ii:187
BROKE, ADMIRAL SIR PHILIP BOWES VERE, engagement of the *Shannon* with the *Chesapeake,* v:166

Brooklyn Heights, battle of, iii:186
Broqueville, Charles, Baron de, appeal to Belgian Parliament for vote of supplies, xi:107
Brown, Maj.-Gen. Jacob, at battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, v:190
Brown, John, attack on Harpers Ferry, vii:264; capture, vii:268; last speech and letters, vii:269, 272
Brussels, Belgium, entry of German army, xi:139
Bryan, William Jennings, biographical note, x:86, 91; first campaign (his own account), x:91; in defense of silver ("cross of gold" speech), x:86; supports Wilson nomination, x:295; Wilson refuses to pledge exclusion of, from cabinet, x:290
Buchan, John, First battle of Ypres, xi:212
Buchanan, James, appearance described, viii:18; negotiates treaty settling Oregon boundary dispute, vii:19; terms of settlement with Mexico considered, vii:100
Buckner, Gen. S. B., proposes armistice, viii:96
Budd, George, Engagement of the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*, v:166
Budget Control, Harding's organization of, xii:240
*Buffalo Bill, see Cody, William F.*
Buffalo hunting to feed railroad builders, ix:43
Buildings, Centennial exposition, ix:177; World's Columbian exposition, x:40
Bulgaria, Austria's attitude toward, xi:15
Bull Run, first battle of, viii:63; losses, viii:71; seen through English eyes, viii:72; second battle of, viii:132
Bullard, Gen. Robert Lee, xii:131n; close-up of the great Argonne battle, xii:131; on discipline and duty in the army, xii:132; on exaggeration in war histories, xii:132; praised for training of 1st division of American Expeditionary Force, xii:98
Bunker Hill, battle of, iii:136
Burchard, Dr. Samuel D., impolitic speech in Blaine-Cleveland campaign, ix:262
Burgoyne, Gen. John, defeat and surrender, iii:211
Burnside, Gen. Ambrose Everett, incompetency, viii:150; on the battle of Fredericksburg, viii:150; ordered to advance at Antietam, viii:147
Burr, Col. Aaron, arrest and trial, v:71; why and how he killed Hamilton, v:28
Burriel, Gen., trial and punishment demanded by United States, ix:168
Burzancy captured by Americans, xii:141
Butler, Gen. Benjamin F., occupies New Orleans, viii:116

## C

Cabinet, Lincoln's, first term, viii:36; making of, vii:292; representation of slave states, vii:295, 299; McKinley's, retained by Roosevelt, x:217
Cable, Atlantic, failure, 1858, vii:253; success, 1866, ix:20
Cable, Jonathan, aids fugitive slaves, vii:167
Cabot, John, discoveries, i:201; letters patents, i:198
Cabot, Lewis, i:198
Cabot, Santius, i:198
Cabot, Sebastian, discourse concerning discovery of part of the West Indies, i:202; discoveries, i:201; exploration of the Rio la Plata, i:204; map of West Indies, i:201
Cabrillo, Juan Roderiguez, memorial, ii:314; voyage to California, ii:315
Cadillac Motor Car Company, x:20
Calef, Robert, ii:280n; Witchcraft in New England, ii:280
Calhoun, John Caldwell, attitude toward slavery, vi:167; break with President Jackson, vi:71; elected vice-president, vi:38; instigated war with Mexico, vi:313; instrumental in bringing about annexation of Texas, vi:167, 313; negotiates treaty settling Oregon boundary dispute, vii:16; recom-

mends reprimand for Jackson's conduct of Seminole war, vi:71; State's right to leave the union, vi:167
CALIFORNIA, conditions of admission to the Union, vii:132; Drake in, i:248; early explorers, ii:315; Fremont's invasion and acquisition, vii:44; disturbed conditions before his arrival, vii:46; gold discovery, vii:114, 126; gold rush, 1849, vii:122; life in the forties, vii:52; missions, ii:314, 318; origin of name, ii:315; settlement by Spanish, ii:314; slavery and free soil considerations, vii:81, 132, 152, 200; terms for cession considered, vii:100
*Californian* (newspaper) established, vii:55
CALVERT, GEORGE, 1ST LORD BALTIMORE, colonization enterprises, ii:132; plantation in Maryland, ii:132
CAMDEN, battle of, iii:296
CAMERON, SIMON, vii:297
CAMPBELL, JOHN A., member of Confederate commission to confer upon peace terms, viii:267
CANADA, unable to communicate with England in winter, vi:283
CANADIAN SEAL POACHING in Behring Sea, ix:309
CANOES of the Indians, i:156, 164; ii:53
CANTIGNY, FRANCE, taken by American troops, xii:81
CAPE COD, explored and named by Gosnold, i:294
CAPE COD HARBOR, ii:103, 108
CAPE NOME HYDRAULIC MINING COMPANY, x:78
CARACONES, i:261
CAROLINA constitutions, ii:181
CAROLINE, FORT, (FLORIDA), built, ii:19; captured by Spanish, ii:36; recaptured by Dominique de Gourgues, ii:44
CARPENTER, FRANCIS C., How the Emancipation proclamation was drafted, viii:159
CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA, meeting of first Continental congress, iii:106
CARPET-BAG GOVERNMENT, ix:152
CARRANZA, GEN. VENUSTIANO, attitude toward Mexican outrages perpetrated on Americans, xii:15
CARROLL, CHARLES, iii:112
CARTIER, JACQUES, discovers the St. Lawrence, i:239
CASS, LEWIS, Surrender of Detroit, v:145
CASTELLUX, FRANÇOIS JEAN, MARQUIS DE, Meaning of American democracy, iv:61; writings, iv:61
CASTLE GARDEN, NEW YORK, reception of Lafayette, vi:27
CASTRO, GEN., defeat in California, vii:46
CATHOLICS in China during Boxer rebellion, x:177
CATSKILL, NEW YORK, Lafayette's reception, vi:32
CAVELL, EDITH, execution of, xi:288
CEDAR CREEK, battle of, viii:234
CENSORSHIP of allied armies, xi:237
CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION, Philadelphia, 1876, ix:175; first telephone exhibited, ix:219
CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD, building and completion, ix-87
CERVERA Y TOPETE, ADM. PASCUAL, capture of, x:134
CHAFFEE, MAJ.-GEN. ADNA R., officially reports the capture and occupation of Pekin, x:174
CHAMPAGNE, French offensive in, xi:259
CHAMPLAIN, SAMUEL DE, ii:82; battle with the Iroquois, i:301; conspiracy against, ii:84; account of founding of Quebec, 1608, ii:82
CHAMPLAIN, LAKE, battle between the French and Iroquois, i:301; battle of, v:212
CHANCELLORSVILLE, BATTLE OF, viii:166, 175
CHANNING, WILLIAM ELLERY, anti-slavery principles, vi:231; opposes the annexation of Texas, vi:231
CHANUTE, OCTAVE, interest in the Wright brothers' experiments with airplanes, x:189
CHAPULTEPEC, MEXICO, capture, vii:89, 96
CHARBONEAU, TOUISSANT, interpreter for Lewis and Clark expedition, v:39, 57
CHARLESTON, SIEGE OF, iii:295
CHARTER, New England provinces declared forfeited, ii:234; Raleigh's colonies, ii:47
CHARTER OAK AFFAIR, ii:234

CHASE, SALMON P., appointed to Supreme Court by Lincoln, viii:265; characteristics, viii:37
CHÂTEAU-THIERRY, American victories at, xii:90
CHEROKEE STRIP in Oklahoma, opening of, x:22
*Chesapeake* and *Leopard,* fight between, 1807, v:78
*Chesapeake* and *Shannon,* engagement of, v:166
CHICAGO, anarchists and the Haymarket riot, ix:274; as a growing village, 1833, vi:174; fire, ix:126; first settler, vi:174; land speculation, 1833, vi:175; meaning of name, vi:174
*Chicago* and *New Orleans* (airplanes) make first round-the-world flight, xii:250
CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR, x:37
*Chicago Tribune,* viii:89
CHICKAMAUGA, battle of, viii:202
CHILDREN, INDIAN, killed by American soldiers, ii:213n; vi:146; killed by Sioux, vi:147
CHILI AND PERU, intervention attitude of the United States, ix:237
CHINA, administration reform in, x:168; Boxer rebellion, x:170; open door, x:165; peace commissioners' refusal to sign treaty of Versailles, xii:207; port leases to Germany and Russia not to interfere with American rights, x:165
CHINESE EMIGRATION under Hawaiian treaty, x:110
CHIPANGU, i:82
CHIPPEWA, battle of, v:190
CHURCH, CAPT. BENJAMIN, ii:219; Death of King Philip, ii:219
CHURCH, penalty for non-attendance, *text,* ii:195
CHURCHILL, WINSTON SPENCER, criticised for going to Antwerp, xi:209; Grand Fleet goes to sea, xi:53
CINCINNATI, OHIO, underground railroad at, vii:157
CITIZENSHIP, American, during the Revolution, iv:64; of slaves, vii:229, 308; provisions of the Fourteenth amendment, ix:64; of the Fifteenth amendment, ix:105
CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, ix:231
CIVIL WAR, (*see also names of battles, i.e.,* Antietam, Appomattox Court House; Bull Run, first battle, second battle; Cedar Creek; Chancellorsville; Chickamauga; Donelson, Fort; Fair Oaks; Fredericksburg; Gettysburg; Lookout Mountain; Nashville; Peninsular campaign; Shiloh; Sumter, Fort; Vicksburg; Wilderness): Armistice proposed by Gen. Buckner (1862), viii:96; beginning of hostilities, viii:50; conduct of the Federal troops at Bull Run, viii:72; disbanding of Federal army, viii:301; Emancipation proclamation, viii:159; foreign newspaper comment, viii:83; Geneva award in the Alabama claims, 1872; *text,* ix:115; hastened by Lincoln's first inaugural address, viii:21; naval episodes, viii:97, 107, 229, 258; peace negotiations, viii:267, 271; pillaging, viii:246; relations of the Union with Great Britain, viii:79; secession as a constitutional right, viii:46; Sherman's march to the sea, viii:242; strategic moves, viii:117; surrender of Confederate army at Appomattox, viii:278, 287; terms of surrender of Lee's army; *text,* viii:289; Webster's warning against, vii:151; youthfulness of military leaders, viii:304.
CLARK, CHAMP, campaign for presidential nomination, 1912, x:291
CLARK, GEORGE ROGERS, iii:257n; Capture of Vincennes, iii:257
CLARK, CAPT. WILLIAM, activities, etc., v:38; Lewis and Clark expedition, v:38
CLAY, CASSIUS M., negotiations leading to purchase of Alaska, ix:40
CLAY, HENRY, activities in behalf of war and armament, v:129; compromise of 1850, vii:131; attitude of the South toward, vii:200; principles of territorial organization, vii:205; Dickens' impression of, vi:300; Why America had to fight (in 1812), v:129
CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY superseded by Hay-Pauncefote treaty, x:218

CLEARING-HOUSE LOAN CERTIFICATES, 1873, ix:166; 1893, x:34; 1907, x:259
CLEMENCEAU, GEORGES BENJAMIN EUGÈNE, address accepting presidency of the Peace conference, xii:200; biographical note, xi:115; speech calling France to arms, xi:115
CLERGERIE, GEN., How the "taxicab army" saved Paris, xi:175
CLERMONT, Lafayette's reception, vi:31
*Clermont* (steamboat), first voyage to Albany, v:86, 89
CLEVELAND, GROVER, action in Wilson Tariff bill controversy, x:49; biographical note, ix:256; campaign against Blaine, ix:257; campaign against Harrison, ix:287
CLINTON, DE WITT, recommends board of internal improvement, vi:22
CLINTON, GEN. GEORGE, iii:189n; evacuation of New York, iii:189
COATES, LINDLEY, delegate to first Anti-slavery convention, vi:161
CODY, WILLIAM F., activities, ix:43; Hunting Buffalo to feed the railroad builders, ix:43
COFFIN, LEVI, biographical note, vii:157; Underground railroad, vii:157
*Coffin hand-bills,* Col. McKenney accused of distributing, vi:51
COLDEN, DAVID, vi:297
COLIGNY, GASPAR DE, plans Huguenot refuge in Florida, ii:11, 16
COLLEGES, founding of Harvard, ii:153; William and Mary, ii:286
COLON, Panama, pavements, sewers and water provided, x:266
COLONIES, general government, iii:38; revenue from, iii:79
COLTON, WALTER, American Alcalde at Monterey, vii:52, biographical note, vii:52; discovery of gold in California, vii:114
*Columbia* (ship) voyages, iv:178
COLUMBIA RIVER, discovery, iv:178
COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, CHICAGO, x:37
COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER, account of the Indians, i:162; ambition to rescue Jerusalem from infidels, i:132; appeal to King John of Portugal, i:70; articles of agreement with Isabella, i:131; at Palos de Moguer, i:120; at the court of Isabella, i:125; connection with Beatriz Enriquez de Arama, i:134; death, i:214; discovery of America, i:153; early life, i:59; last voyage, i:205; letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, i:204; in Spain, i:99; made admiral, i:135; marriage, i:65; own story of his voyage, i:159; Columbus' plan to rescue the holy sepulcher, i:175; plan to seek western route to India, i:67; preparations for voyage, i:134; sails from Palos, i:135; taken a prisoner to Spain, i:212; triumphant return to Spain, i:170; voyage of discovery, i:134.
COLUMBUS, FERDINAND, account of the discovery of America, i:134
COLUMBUS, NEW MEXICO, attacked by Mexican bandits, xii:18
COMPACT ON THE *Mayflower, text,* ii:113
COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE proclaimed by Wilson; *text,* xii:39; approved by Gompers, xii:42
CONCORD, Battle of, iii:121
CONFEDERATE ARMY, terms of surrender, viii:289
CONFEDERATE FLAGS, love of soldiers for, viii:285
CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT leaves Richmond, viii:276
CONFEDERATE STATES, formation and policy of, vii:311
CONFISCATION ACTS, viii:269
CONGRESS, representation in; provisions of the Fourteenth amendment, ix:65
CONGRESS, CONTINENTAL (1774), debates on methods of voting, iii:107; John Adams' report, iii; 106; orators, iii:113
CONGRESS (1781), tax on imports proposed, iv:28; (1781-1783) financial embarrassment, iv:27; (1783) adjourns to Princeton, iv: 36, 40; threatened by mutinous troops in Philadelphia, iv:36; resolutions on the death of Washington, iv:246; (1824) bestows honors and rewards upon Lafayette, vi:36; (1834) Senate resolution censuring President Jackson, vi:118; (1846) divided on war with Mexico, vii:77;

(1866-1868) opposition to President Johnson, ix:48; (1868) brings impeachment articles against President Johnson, ix:48; (1898) act authorizing war with Spain, *text* x:121; (1917) declaration of war against Germany, *text,* xii:34; (1920) peace resolution of Senator Knox, *text,* xii:220; veto message of Wilson, xii:223; Treaty of peace reservations; *text,* xii:214
CONKLING, ROSCOE, opposition to James G. Blaine, ix:261
CONNECTICUT, Charter oak affair, ii:234
CONNECTICUT CONSTITUTION; *text,* ii:167
CONSTITUTION OF CONNECTICUT, first written constitution; *text,* ii:167
CONSTITUTION OF CAROLINA, John Locke and the fundamental constitutions of Carolina, ii:181
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, citizenship in relation to slaves, vii:229, 308; duty of President to defend, vi:181; *Federalist* essays on necessity for, by Hamilton and Madison, iv:304, 312; framing, iv:113; interpreted by Calhoun, vi:167; powers and functions of various departments defined, vi:183; powers of the government under, v:297; President Jackson charged with violating, vi:181; President's oath to defend; *text,* vi:181; supported by Hancock, iv:146; supreme law of the land, vi:59; Webster's defense, vi:63
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES: *Amendments,* Fourteenth, ix:63; Fifteenth, ix:105; Lincoln's comments in his first inaugural, viii:32; recommended by the Hartford convention, 1814-15; *text,* v:235
*Constitution* (man-of-war), captures the *Guerrière,* v:154, 157; captures the *Java,* v:160
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION (1787), speech of Madison on the Confederation, iv:83
CONWAY, HENRY SEYMOUR, biographical notes, iii:82; Repeal of the Stamp act, iii:82
CONWAY, GEN. THOMAS, Count de, letter from Lafayette concerning, iii:245; letter from Washington concerning, iii:249
COOLIDGE, JOHN CALVIN, administers the oath of office to his son, xii:246
COOLIDGE, CALVIN, biographical note, xii:246; message from, to round-the-world flyers in Labrador, xii:257; oath of office, press account of his taking, xii:246
COOPER, JAMES FENIMORE, v:17, 212; Battle of Lake Champlain, v:212; Decatur captures and burns the *Philadelphia,* v:17
COOPER, PETER, produces first American locomotive, vi:66
COOPER, WILLIAM, biographical note, iv:77; How settlements were planted, iv:77
COOPERSTOWN, NEW YORK, settlement, iv:77
CORNWALLIS, GEN. CHARLES, Battle of Yorktown, iii:301
CORONADO, FRANCIS VASQUES DE, account of his wanderings, i:259; search for Indian cities, i:259
CORONEL, CHILE, sea fight near, xi:220
CORWIN, THOMAS, vi:268; biographical note, vii:85; contemporary senatorial opponent of the war, vii:85
COTTON GIN, invention, iv:184
COVEY, EDWARD, reputation as a slave-breaker, vi:149
COW NATION (Indians), i:248
COWPER, E. C., on the sinking of the *Lusitania,* xi:261, 262
CRAIGIE HOUSE, iii:130
CRAWFORD, WILLIAM H., Calhoun's criticism, vi:79; instigates rupture between Jackson and Calhoun, vi:71; accuses Calhoun, vi:72
CREDITORS, consideration of, in Treaty of Paris, iv:45
CROCKETT, DAVID, in the Alamo, vi:205
CROMWELL, WILLIAM NELSON, cleared of Panama canal corruption charges, x:238, 243, 247
CUBA, Bill of rights granted, x:163; chaos after Spanish-American war, x:160; civil government, x:160; freedom, conditions of, in peace ultimatum; *text,* x:157; independence recognized by

United States, x:119; intervention proposed by United States, ix:167; municipalities reëstablished during American occupation, x:163; Spanish misrule causes insurrections, ix:167; Spanish misrule causes war with United States, x:119
CUDWORTH, JAMES, Persecution of the Quakers, ii:175
CULLOM, SHELBY M., Threatened impeachment of Andrew Johnson, ix:48
CURTIS, GEORGE WILLIAM, achievements, ix:231; civil service reform demanded, ix:231
CUSHING, THOMAS, iii:251
CUSI mining property in Mexico, xii:16
CUSTER, GEN. GEORGE A., biographical note, ix:195; carries message from Sheridan to Gordon at Appomattox, viii:284; last campaign, and death, ix:195
CUSTOMS REGULATIONS, covered by Hawaiian treaty, x:110
CUTTYHUNK ISLAND, settled by Gosnold, (first English settlement in New England), i:294
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA and France, xii:261
CZOLGOSZ, LEON F., ancestry and description of, x:204; assassinates President McKinley, x:204

D

DABLON, FATHER CLAUDE, Death of Marquette, ii:205
DADE, MAJ., and his command massacred by Seminoles, vi:257
DALNY, CHINA, created a free port, x:166
DANA, CHARLES ANDERSON, biographical note, viii:36; Lee and Grant in the Wilderness, viii:221; Lincoln and his cabinet, viii:36
DANE, NATHAN, Northwest ordinance, iv:140
DARE, VIRGINIA, birth of, ii:67
DARIEN, ISTHMUS OF, Balboa's journey across, i:222
DAVIS, JUDGE DAVID, aids Lincoln's campaign, vii:292
DAVIS, GEN. GEORGE W., appointed governor of Panama Canal zone, x:269
DAVIS, JEFFERSON, biographical notes, vii:304, 311; capture, viii:297; farewell address to the Senate, vii:304; flight from Richmond, viii:276, 293; inaugural address, vii:311; message from Lee on the necessity of evacuating Richmond, viii:272; opinion of Lee on his after-the-war standing, ix:14
DAVIS, JOHN P., First transcontinental railroad, ix:87
DAVIS, RICHARD HARDING, Burning of Louvain, xi:152; Germans enter Brussels, xi:139
DAWES, CHARLES GATES, biographical note, xii:258; plan to collect from Germany (*Dawes report*), xii:258
*Dawes report, see Dawes, Charles Gates*
DAWNAY, MAJ. HUGH, heroic death, xi:216
DAY, WILLIAM RUFUS, x:156n; Ultimatum in the negotiation of peace with Spain; *text,* x:156
DEANE, SILAS, mission to France, iii:251; negotiations with La Fayette, iii:223
DEBS, EUGENE V., leads railway strike of 1894, x:54; trial and imprisonment, x:61
DEBT, PUBLIC (GERMANY), United States offer of a loan, xii:258: (HAWAII), *text of treaty;* x:110; (TEXAS), vii:137; (UNITED STATES), after the Revolution, iv:27; 1823, vi:20; 1919, xii:238; 1923, xii:241
DEBTORS, refuge in Georgia, ii:301
DECATUR, COMMODORE STEPHEN, capture and burning of the *Philadelphia,* v:17
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, Jefferson's original draft; *text,* iii:171; Mecklenburg; *text,* iii:184; why Jefferson was chosen to write it, iii:180; writing of (letter by Jefferson), iii:166
DEFENSE, responsibility of colonies for, iii:50
DEGOUTTE, GEN., compliments American troops, xii:92
DE KALB, JOHANN, BARON, becomes the friend of La Fayette, iii:224
DE LAET, JOHN, *Nieuwe werelt* (extract), i:315

DELANO, ALONZO, Vicissitudes of a forty-niner, vii:122
DELAWARE COLONIES of Sweden, ii: 160
DELAWARE RIVER, Washington crosses, iii:206
DE LESSEPS COMPANY, equity in Panama canal rights, x:243
DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA, meaning, iv:61
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, in Lincoln's second campaign, viii:263; in Oregon boundary dispute, vii:18; progressives at convention of 1912, x:296; slavery problems of Pierce administration, vii:200, 211; triumph of 1828, vi:39
DEPORTATION OF ACADIANS, iii:54
DESERTERS, search for, on the *Chesapeake,* v:78
DE SOTO, HERNANDO, defied by Indian chief, i:279; design to conquer Florida, i:274; discovery of the Mississippi, i:276; landing in Florida, i:275; sickness, death and burial in the Mississippi, i: 277, 279
DE SOUZA, COUNT CHARLES, battle of Neuve Chapelle, xi:258
DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINE in Havana Harbor, x:112
DETROIT AUTOMOBILE COMPANY, organized by Henry Ford, x:19
DETROIT, FORT, surrender of, v:135, 145
DEW, PROF. THOMAS RODERIC, Argument upholding slavery, vi:35; biographical note, vi:35
DEWEY, ADMIRAL GEORGE, Battle of Manila Bay, x:125
DE WITT, SIMEON, directed to make survey of routes proposed for Erie canal, vi:15
DICKENS, CHARLES, agitation of question of international copyright causes indignation, vi:294; description of Niagara falls, vi: 302; letters on visit to America, vi:291
DICKINSON, JOHN, characteristics, iii:111, 114
DINWIDDY, GOV. ROBERT, sends Washington on expedition to Ohio country, iii:11
DISARMAMENT (*see also Armaments*): on the Great Lakes, v: 274
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, slavery in, vii:142
DOGGER BANK, naval battle, xi:241; sufferings of men, xi:243, 247
DOGS, FEAST OF, prepared by Black Hawk, vi:130, 139
DOGS, in Peary's North pole expedition, x:279
DOLE, SANFORD B., heads Hawaiian government, x:107
DOLES, PUBLIC, recommended to relieve unemployed, xii:239
DONELSON, FORT, capture of, viii:89
DOOLITTLE, JAMES ROOD, Henry Ford and the automobile, x:13
DORCHESTER HEIGHTS, BOSTON, capture by Americans, iii:158
DORR, THOMAS WILSON, procured extension of the right of suffrage in Rhode Island, vi:273
DORR'S REBELLION in Rhode Island, vi:273
DORSET, JOHN FREDERICK SACKVILLE, DUKE OF, England and the United States at loggerheads, iv: 91
DOUGLAS, STEPHEN A., vii:205n; anger of North against, vii:202; Defense of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, vii:205; holds Lincoln's hat during inaugural speech, viii:20; sponsors Kansas-Nebraska bill, vii:201
DOUGLASS, FREDERICK, biographical note, vi:149; slave-breaking in the South, vi:149
DOYLE, SIR ARTHUR CONAN, Antwerp capitulates, xi:207; Mons—the first British battle, xi:144
DRAKE, SIR FRANCIS, a description of, by Don Francisco de Zarate, i:292; aids Roanoke colonists, ii: 64; in California, i:284; voyage to California, ii:315
DRAPER, ANDREW S., x:134n; capture of Santiago and defeat of Cervera, x:134
DRED SCOTT DECISION, vii:204, 229, 259
DRUNKENNESS, enactment of Virginia's first Assembly, ii:94
DUANE, JAMES, as a speaker, iii: 113
DUANE, WILLIAM JOHN, refuses to remove Federal deposits from United States Bank, vi:111
DUELS, airplane, xii:149, 151

Dunajec River, Russians hurled back on, xi:269
Duquesne, Fort, Washington's description of, iii:29
Dutch in Pennsylvania, ii:239
Dyar, Frank L. and Martin, Thomas C., Edison's electric light invention, ix:226

E

Earthquake of 1906, San Francisco, x:249
East India Company, dispatches Hudson to seek passage to China, i:315
Eaton, Maj. John Henry, champions Col. M'Kinney, vi:56
Ebert Government, recognized by Allied armies in the Rhineland, xii:199
Economic Conditions in the United States, 1784, iv:68
Economy, National, Harding's insistence upon, xii:240
Eddis, William, Indentured "white slaves" in the colonies, ii:309
Eddy, Thomas, vi:17
Edison, Thomas A., invention of the electric light, ix:226
*1812, War of, see War of 1812*
El Caney, Cuba, capture of, x:142
Elections under Connecticut constitution, ii:168
Electoral Commission Law of 1877, ix:189
Electric Light, invention of, ix:226
Eliot, John, character and work, ii:260; letter to Hon. Robert Boyle, ii:260
Elizabeth Islands, English settlement, i:294
Ellsworth, Annie, sends first telegraph message, vi:308
Emancipation Proclamation, drafting of, viii:159
Embargoes, on shipping, prior to War of 1812, v:124; on trade, 1807, v:92
*Emden* (German man-of-war), cruise and destruction of, xi:123, 130
Emerson, Guy, Liberty loan army, xii:78
Emerson, William, Battle of Concord, iii:121; biographical note, iii:121
Emigration to Indian Lands of Kansas and Nebraska, vii:209
Engineering Problems of American Expeditionary Force, xii:56
Engineers' Roadbuilding for Meuse-Argonne battle, xii:134
England, (*see also Great Britain*): religious conditions in 17th century, ii:127; unable to communicate with Canada in winter, vi:283
English, conquest of New York, ii:187; first discovery in new world, i:198
*English army, see British army*
*English navy, see British navy*
Entangling Alliances, Washington's warning against, iv:225
Entente Cordiale, demands surrender and trial of Kaiser, xii:190
Eric the Red, i:21, 37; Saga of, i:34
Ericsson, Lief, i:19, 25, 37
Erie Canal, building, vi:13; financing, vi:23; ground broken for construction, vi:17; opened in part to navigation, vi:18; opened throughout its length, vi:24
Erie, Lake, battle of, v:169, 176
Ermine Skins sought by fur traders, iv:157
Erzberger, Mathias, Armistice signed for Germany, *text,* xii:166
Espanola Island, West Indies, i:161, 165
Ether, experiments with, vii:63
European Powers in America (Monroe's doctrines), v:288
European War, airplane duels, xii:149, 151; Allies in the Rhineland, xii:193; American intervention, proposal of, 1916, xi:300; American mobilization, xii:54; American public opinion, xi:237; American victories at Château-Thierry, xii:90; Argonne battle, xii:131; *Big Berthas* bombard Paris, xii:67; breaking the Hindenburg line, xii:127; British failure at Gallipoli, xi:275; British navy slips into North Sea, xi:53; burning of Louvain, xi:152; capitulation of Antwerp, xi:207; capture of Przemysl, xi:254; Clemenceau calls France to arms, xi:115; Coronel, Chile, sea

fight, xi:220; cruise and destruction of the *Emden,* xi:123; defense of Belgium by Dr. William Muehlon, xi:81; Dogger Bank naval battle, xi:241; entry of United States welcomed by Lloyd George, xii:35; execution of Edith Cavell, xi:288; expenditure of the United States, xii:238; Falklands, battle of, xi:225; first American army in attack, xii: 117; first use of submarines, xi: 202; Foch given supreme command, xii:72; Foch launches great counter-attack, xii:97; Franz Joseph's letter to the Kaiser, xi:13; German entrance into Brussels, xi:139; German responsibility admitted by Lichnowsky, xi:120; Germany's ultimatum to Belgium, *text,* xi:72; delivery to Belgian minister, xi:68; reply, *text,* xi:74; Haig's appeal to his troops in extremity, xii: 76; Heligoland, sea fight off, xi: 158; Italy joins the Allies, xi: 284; Joffre's advance from frontiers to Marne, xi:162; Jutland, battle, xi:306; Kaiser's annotations to diplomatic correspondence, xi:23; Kaiser's version of the war, xi:48; King Albert appears before Parliament, xi:101; King Albert's speech to Parliament, xi:112; last American Expeditionary Force drive to Sedan, xii:139; last German attack is halted, xii:93; Liberty loan army, xii:78; Liège, fall of, xi: 133; *Lusitania,* sinking of, xi:261, 262; Marne, battle, xi:184; Mons, the first British battle, xi:144; moving American troops overseas, xii:44; Neuve Chapelle, battle, xi:258; Page's letter to Wilson, asking financial aid for Great Britain, xii:49; urging haste in providing destroyers, xii:52; Paris vacated by French government, xi:172; Pershing's troops take Cantigny, xii:81; *President Lincoln,* loss of, xii:84; responsibility, xii:203; responsibility of Germany, xi:120; Roosevelt's letter to Grey warning England, xi:234; Russians driven back on the Dunajec, xi:269; speech by Sir Edward Grey, *England on brink of war,* xi:84; *taxicab army* saves Paris, xi:175; trench warfare on the Aisne, xi: 193; U-9 destroys British warships, xi:202; ultimatum of Japan to Germany, *text,* xi:137; United States declaration of war, *text,* xii:34; Verdun, *They shall not pass,* xi:290; war in the air, xii: 147; war loans of Great Britain and the United States, xii:49n; where von Kluck failed, xi:178 *Willy-Nicky* telegrams, July and August, 1914, xi:37; Wilson warns Germany, 1915, *texts,* xi: 250, 266; Wilson's appeal to Congress to act against Germany and put country on a war footing, xii:25; Wilson's proclamation calling nation to arms and outlining conscription measures, *text,* xii:39; Ypres, battle, xi:212

EUROPEAN WAR, ARMISTICE, acclaimed in Wilson's address to Congress, xii:178; how negotiated and signed, xii:158; not premature, xii:143; terms of, *text,* xii:166; wrecking German navy under terms of, xii:184

EUROPEAN WAR, PEACE (*see also Dawes plan; League of nations, Locarno treaty*): conditions in Wilson's *Fourteen points* address to Congress, *text,* xii:61; five additional points, *text,* xii:65; resolution of Congress, *text,* xii:220; veto message of Wilson, xii:223; signing the treaty of Versailles, xii:205; speech of Clemenceau accepting presidency of Peace conference, xii:200; treaty reservations of the United States, *text,* xii:214

F

FAILURES due to panic of 1837, vi: 248; of 1893, x:33, 36; of 1907, x:261

*Fair, see Exposition*

FAIR OAKS, battle of, viii:128

FALKLANDS, battle of the, xi:225

FANEUIL HALL meeting to discuss Boston massacre, iii:86

FANNIN, COL. JAMES W., defeat of, vi:222; taken to Goliad, vi:223

FAREWELL of Washington to his army, iii:314

FAREWELL ADDRESS of Jefferson Davis, vii:304; of Washington, iv: 209
FARMERS, AMERICAN, opportunities for, in 1811, v:101
FARRAGUT, ADM. DAVID G., on the capture of New Orleans, viii: 107; report of battle of Mobile Bay, viii:258
FEDERAL GRAND JURY in South Carolina on the Ku-Klux Klan, ix:110
FEDERAL MEASURES before the Revolution, iii:38
FEDERAL RESERVE ACT, effect upon business, x:312; interpretation of, x:309
FEDERAL RESERVE NOTES, how secured, x:312
*Federalist, The,* influence of papers by Hamilton and Madison, iv: 304, 312
FELTON, CORNELIUS CONWAY, vi:296
FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, i:202; reception of Columbus after his discovery, i:174
FERLEC, KINGDOM OF, i:91
FIELD, CYRUS W., Atlantic cable, failure, 1858, vii:253; success, 1866, ix:20
FIELD, HENRY M., First Atlantic cable, 1858, vii:253
FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT to the Constitution, ix:105
*Fifty-four, forty or fight* slogan, vii:18
FILIPINO INSURRECTION, x:223
FILLMORE, MILLARD, letter to Emperor of Japan, vii:190
FINANCIAL DILEMMA of Great Britain, 1917, xii:49
FINANCIAL EMBARRASSMENTS of the new republic, iv:27
FIRE, Chicago, ix:126; following San Francisco earthquake, x:249; in legations during Boxer rebellion, x:170
FISH, HAMILTON, Cuban intervention proposed, ix:167
FISHERIES, American rights discussed by treaty of Ghent commissioners, v:263; off Newfoundland, in treaty of Paris, iv:54; preservation of, ix:310, 312
FISK, JAMES, financial activities, ix: 76
FISKE, JOHN, i:17; iv:48; Discovery of America, i:74; Facing bankruptcy and mutiny, iv:27; Treaty of Paris negotiations, iv:48
FITZ-CLARENCE, GEN. CHARLES, at Ypres, xi:213; death, xi:217
FLAG, GERMAN, Adm. Beatty's order to haul down, xii:184
FLAG-BEARERS, INDIAN, killed by American soldiers, vi:133, 136, 145.
FLORIDA, American invasion of, v: 277; arrival of the French, ii:12; arrival of the Spanish, ii:29, 32; claimed for Spain, i:219; conquests of Pedro Menendez de Aviles, ii:30; discovered and named by Ponce de Leon, i:219; Ponce de Leon's attempt to colonize, i:220; Sebastian Cabot's arrival, i:204
FLORIDA AND NEW ORLEANS, Jefferson on transfer from France to the United States, iv:287
*Florida* (man-of-war), Britain's responsibility for damage by, ix:120
FLYING (*see also Aviation*) first attempts of the Wright brothers, x:184
FOCH, MARSHAL FERDINAND, xii: 72n; appointed Commander-in-chief of Allied forces, xii:74; at battle of the Marne, xi:184; launches his great counter-attack, July 1918, xii:97; plans for Allied offensive, xii:117, 119, 121; receives and negotiates with Armistice plenipotentiaries, xii: 159, 163; signs Armistice for France, *text,* xii:166; superior officer in Rhineland government, xii:193
FOOD of the Indians, i:268; ii:55
FONTAINE, JOHN, vi:230
FORCE BILL, vi:167
FORD, HENRY, and the automobile, x:13
FORD MOTOR COMPANY, x:20
FORD'S THEATRE, Lincoln assassinated at, viii:312
FOREIGN ALLIANCES, Washington's warning against, iv:225
FORMAN, JOSHUA, resolution regarding Erie canal, vi:15
FORSYTH, JOHN, Calhoun's criticism, of, vi:82
*Forty-niners,* hardships and travels, vii:122
FOSTER, MAJ. JOHN GRAY, Siege and capture of Fort Sumter, viii:50

FOUR POWER PACIFIC ALLIANCE for limitation of armaments, xii: 227n, 236
FOURNEAUX, rebellion, ii:20; execution, ii:22
*Fourteen points* of President Wilson, *text,* xii:61; five additional points, *text,* xii:65
FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT to the Constitution, ix:63
FOURTH OF JULY celebration in 1811, v:96
FOX BOURNE, H. R., John Locke and the fundamental constitutions of Carolina, ii:181
FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, iv:113
FRANCE, apathy toward Huguenot colonists, ii:30, 40; attitude toward United States in peace negotiations with Great Britain, iv:54; British and Italian guarantee against foreign aggression, xii:263n; called to arms by Clémenceau, xi:115; danger of conflict with the United States if Louisiana is retained, iv:287; friendship and obligations of Great Britain as seen by Grey, xi:86; on sale of Louisiana to the United States, iv:287, 294; policies in the Balkans, xi:18; recognizes American independence, iii:251; sends colonies to America, i:239; shadowed by fanaticism and hate, 1562, ii:11
FRANCE AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, xii: 261
FRANCE AND GERMANY, Paris suspicious of the Dawes report, xii: 260
FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES, difficulties leading to war of 1798, iv:204
FRANCHISE PROVISIONS of the Fourteenth amendment, ix:65; of the Fifteenth amendment, ix:105
FRANCIS I, king of France, sends colonies to America, i:239
FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN, American characteristics, iv:68; France recognizes American independence, iii:251; mission to France, iii:251; negotiations with La Fayette, iii:225; on his writings, iv:68n; plan of union, iii:38; Treaty of Paris, iv:43, 48
FRANZ FERDINAND, archduke of Austria, assassination of, xi:13
FRANZ JOSEPH, emperor of Austria, autograph letter to the Kaiser, with annexe mémoire, July, 1914, xi:13
FRASER'S RIVER, claim of United States to, vii:33
FREDERICKSBURG, battle of, viii:150
FREE SOIL TERRITORY, controversies over, vii:81, 131, 151, 199, 205, 211, 221
FREE-SOILERS, attitude toward repeal of Missouri compromise, vii:213; form Republican party with Whigs, vii:216; war with pro-slavery border-ruffians, vii: 221
FREE-STATE HOTEL, Lawrence, Kansas, condemned, vii:223
FREELAND, H., first voyage of the Clermont, v:89
FRÉMONT, GEN. JOHN CHARLES, biographical note, vii:44; efforts to avoid difficulties with Mexico, vii:44; expeditions to the West, vi:289; vii:44; invasion and acquisition of California, vii:44; withdraws from presidential campaign, viii:263
FRENCH, MARSHAL J. D. P., at first battle of Ypres, xi:212; at Mons, xi:144; order to troops during battle of the Aisne, xi:199
FRENCH, DR. L. H., discovery of gold in Alaska, x:73
FRENCH claim Ohio river, iii:25; empire in Mexico opposed by United States, viii:268; in Florida, ii:11; in the Ohio country, iii:15; relations with the Indians in the Ohio country, iii:16
FRENCH ARMY before Quebec, iii: 63; efficiency at Verdun, xi:295; French colonials and American troops victorious at Château-Thierry, xii:91; offensive at Ourcq saves Paris, xi:176; offensive in Champagne, xi:259; troops in St. Mihiel offensive placed under Pershing's command, xii:119; victories in Foch's counter-attack of July 1918, xii:97; with Americans, halts last offensive on the Marne, xii:93
FRENCH GOVERNMENT leaves Paris for Bordeaux, xi:171; proclamation to people of Paris, *text,* xi: 172

FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS, Braddock's defeat, iii:51; prisoners, iii:31; Quebec, battle of, iii:62
FRENEAU, PHILIP, hostility to Hamilton in the *National Gazette,* iv:274
FREYDIS, i:52
FULTON, ROBERT, first trip of his steamboat to Albany, v:86
FUNERAL ORATION on Washington, iv:253
FUNSTON, GEN. FREDERICK, achievements, x:223; capture of Aguinaldo, x:223; takes charge after San Francisco earthquake, x:251
FUR COMPANIES in the Northwest, iv:159
FUR TRADE of the Northwest, iv:151

## G

GAGE, LYMAN J., biographical note, x:179; gold-standard act, x:179
GAHAN, REV. H. STIRLING, execution of Edith Cavell, xi:288
GALICIA, Russians swept from the plains of, xi:269
GALLATIN, ALBERT, reports revenue plan for construction of canals and turnpikes, vi:15
GALLIÉNI, GEN., proclamation to people of Paris, *text,* xi:172; saves Paris by offensive at Ourcq, xi:176
GALLIPOLI EXPEDITION, failure of, xi:275
GALLOWAY, JOSEPH, as a speaker, iii:113
GARFIELD, JAMES ABRAM, assassination, ix:242
GARNETT, GEN. ROBERT SELDEN, in the battle of Gettysburg, viii:190, 192
GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD, biographical note, vi:91, 195; delegate to the first Anti-slavery convention, 1833, vi:158, 161; mobbed in streets of Boston, vi:195; pioneer movement against slavery, vi:91
GATES, GEN. HORATIO, fans army resentment over delayed pay, iv:32; recalled, iii:296
GEDDES, JAMES, makes surveys for Erie canal, vi:16
GENERAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION, x:54
GENEVA AWARD in the *Alabama* claims, *text,* ix:115
*Genius of universal emancipation,* vi:90
*Gentleman of the city of New York,* Leisler's rebellion, ii:266
GEORGE III, KING OF ENGLAND, speech in reply to John Adams, iv:96
GEORGE V, KING OF ENGLAND, communications with Prince Henry of Prussia on averting war, xi:41
GEORGIA, distribution of insurrectionary literature illegal, vi:192; establishment of colony, ii:301; Sherman's march through, viii:242
GERMAN ARMY, ability and character of soldiers, xi:198; at Mons, xi:144; at Verdun, xi:290; losses, xi:291; causes for sudden collapse at end of war, xii:79; color of uniforms, xi:140; defeat at battle of the Ourcq, xi:177, 180; defeat at the Marne, xi:184; defeat confessed by German plenipotentiaries, xii:144; defeat proved by condition of army and abandonment of supplies, xii:145; drive for Paris foiled, xi:175, 178; enters Brussels, xi:139; equipment and organization, xi:141; forces Allies to retreat to the Marne, xi:164; last offensive halted by American and French troops on the Marne, xii:93; morale lowered by American victories, xii:126, 127; morale gives way, xii:141; reasons for burning Louvain, xi:153; starts trench warfare on the Aisne, xi:193; victories and hopes at time of America's entry into war, xii:55; victories in Galicia, xi:269; wins siege against Antwerp, xi:207
GERMAN INDUSTRIES, Dawes plan to restore, xii:258
GERMAN NATIONAL PARTY demands plebiscite on "the king question," xii:261
GERMAN NAVY (*see also Battles, naval*): mobilization of, reported July 25, 1914, xi:28; rebellion in, xii:188; wrecking, under the armistice, xii:184

GERMAN PEACE PLENIPOTENTIARIES, statement to press about peace terms, xii:213
GERMAN PEOPLE, friendship for, expressed in Wilson's message to Congress, xii:32
GERMAN PRISONERS taken near Soissons, xii:100, 101, 114, 116
GERMAN SHIPS sunk at Antwerp, xi:210
GERMANY, Chinese free port of Kiao-Chao, American trade rights in, x:168; conditions of peace with, in Knox resolution, *text,* xii:220; Dawes plan to reduce reparations, xii:258; deposits in foreign countries, xii:259; diplomatic dispatches with the Kaiser's annotations, summer of 1914, xi:23, Japan's ultimatum, *text,* xi:137; mobilization, xi:46, 48; occupation of Rhineland territory by the Allies, xii:193; plan to embroil the United States in war with Mexico, xii:23; propaganda in Italy, xi:284; purposes in regard to Belgium revealed, xi:68, 72; refuses terms of American intervention, xi:304; reparations, Dawes plan to collect from Germany, xii:258; responsibility for war admitted by Lichnowsky, xi:120; spies in England, xi:62; ultimatum to Belgium, *text,* xi:72; delivery of, told by an eye-witness, xi:68; Belgium's reply, *text,* xi:74; violation of Belgian neutrality upheld by officials, xi:77; warned in notes of Wilson, 1915, *texts,* xi:250, 266; warning to trans-Atlantic travelers, xi:261
GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES, threatened conflict over Samoan Islands, ix:293; United States offer of a loan to pay debts, xii:258; Wilson's address to Congress, xii:25; declaration of war, *text,* xii:34
GERRY, ELDRIDGE, X Y Z correspondence, vi:204
GETTYSBURG, battle of, viii:183
GHENT, BELGIUM, banquet to peace commissioners, v:267
GHENT, TREATY OF, v:252, 263
GILL, CHARLES C., Wrecking the German navy under the armistice, xii:184
*Give me liberty or give me death,* iii:115
GLADSTONE, THOMAS H., vii:221n; Civil war in Kansas, vii:221
GLEAVES, VICE-ADM. ALBERT, xii:44n; Moving our troops overseas, xii:44
GLEIG, GEORGE ROBERT, v:242n; British account of the burning of Washington, v:209; British side at New Orleans, v:246
GLIDING, experiments of the Wright brothers, x:190
GLOSSOP, CAPT. JOHN C. T., how the German raider *Emden* was destroyed, xi:130
GOETHALS, GEN. GEORGE W., x:263; human side of Panama canal building, x:263
GOLD conspiracy of 1869, ix:76; discovery in Alaska, x:73; discovery in California, vii:114, 126; for resumption of specie payments, ix:221; in Japan, i:82; market, *Black Friday* panic of 1869, ix:76; reserve shrinkage, x:28, 101
GOLD STANDARD act demanded, x:103; explained, x:179; attitude of Bryan, x:86
GOLIAD, TEXAS, massacre of Texas prisoners of war, vi:223
GOMPERS, SAMUEL, attitude on peace and European war, xii:42; conscription is approved, xii:42
GOOKIN, DANIEL, ministry, ii:263
GORDON, JOHN B., on the last stand of Lee's army, viii:278
GORDON, WILLIAM, Washington resigns his commission to Congress, iii:310
GORGAS, COL. WILLIAM C., sanitation work in Panama Canal zone, x:263
GOSCHEN, SIR EDWARD, official report of interview with Germans concerning Belgian neutrality, xi:77
GOSNOLD, CAPT. BARTHOLOMEW, enrolls Jamestown colonists, ii:69; makes settlement at Cuttyhunk, i:294
GOULD, JAY, financial activities, ix:76, 165
GOURAUD, GEN. HENRI JOSEPH EUGENE, commands French drive to Sedan, xii:141

GOURGUES, DOMINIQUE DE, adventures of, ii:40; conquest of Spanish colonies, ii:42; expedition to Africa and Florida, ii:41; treatment in France, ii:46
GOVERNMENT for the American colonies, plan proposed by Franklin, iii:38
GOVERNMENT, CONFEDERATE STATES, formation of, vii:311
GOVERNMENT, UNITED STATES, Federal powers defined, v:297; power of, vi:59; powers and functions of various departments defined by the Constitution, vi:183
GRANADA, conquest of, i:124
GRAND COUNCIL, in Franklin's plan of union, iii:38
GRAND FLEET goes to sea, xi:53
GRAND PRÉ, Novia Scotia, iii:55
GRANT, ULYSSES SIMPSON, vii:96n; asks for a commission in the army (letter to Col. Thomas), viii:61; assumes command of military operations in the West, viii:214; battle of the Wilderness, tactics in, viii:221; difficulty of writing memoirs, viii:286; enmity toward Col. Custer, ix:195, 197; generosity to vanquished army, viii:292; in Mexico, vii:96; meeting with Lee at Appomattox, viii:285; on his *Military memoirs,* ix:267; Siege of Vicksburg, viii:195; on the surrender of Lee at Appomattox, viii:286; popularity, nomination and presidency, ix:69; President Johnson upheld in attitude toward the South, ix:16; refuses armistice proposed by Buckner (1862), viii:96; review of postwar conditions in the South, ix:16; sickness, death and funeral, ix:266
GRAPES in the new world, i:26, 41, 230, 244; ii:48
GRASSE, COUNT DE, iii:308
GRAY, CAPT. ROBERT, discovery of the Columbia River, iv:178
GREAT BRITAIN, (*see also England*): acts that provoked the War of 1812, v:116, 120; aids United States in German conflict over Samoan Islands, ix:293; efforts to gain California, vii:46; entry into war as seen by Clémenceau, xi:116; financial dilemma in 1917, xii:49; appeal to the United States for aid, xii:50; Geneva award in the *Alabama* claims, *text,* ix:115; Kaiser Wilhelm's criticisms, xi:29; naval strength and obligations as seen by Grey, 1914, xi:86; obligations to France and Belgium as seen by Grey, xi:86, 90; Orders in Council leading to War of 1812, v:116, 129; Panama canal treaty of 1901, *text,* x:218; peace efforts in recent Balkan crises, xi:85; position of England as seen by Grey, 1914, xi:84; questions authority of American treaty making commissioners, iv:91; relations with United States during Civil war, viii:79; seeks to establish a protectorate over Texas, vi:282; Treaty of Paris negotiations, iv:43, 48; warning of Roosevelt, xi:234; welcomes America into the war, xii:35
GREAT BRITAIN AND UNITED STATES, Behring Sea troubles over seal fisheries, ix:309; British payments to the United States, xii:259; occupation and division of American Northwest, vii:13, 23; Oregon boundary dispute vii:13; Venezuela boundary affair, x:64; Webster-Ashburton treaty, vi:281
GREAT DIVIDE, crossing the, v:50
*Great Eastern* (vessel), lays Atlantic cable, ix:24
GREAT LAKES, disarmament on, v:274
*Great war, see European war*
GREELEY, HORACE, Abolition incites the murder of Lovejoy, vi:239; account of the invention of the cotton gin, iv:184; campaign for the presidency, 1872, ix:143; character and achievements, ix:144; death, ix:151; evacuation and fall of Richmond, viii:270; "Log-cabin and hard cider" campaign, vi:263
GREEN, BERIAH, chosen president of first Anti-slavery convention, vi:160
GREEN, MRS. NATHANAEL, aids Eli Whitney and cotton gin invention, iv:187
GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS, iii:147

GREEN, NATHANAEL, address to the army on Arnold's treason, iii: 284; succeeds Gates in command, iii:296
GREENLAND, colonized, i:23; explored, i:21; in an airplane along the coast of, xii:253
GRENVILLE, SIR RICHARD, Roanoke colonists, ii:57, 66, 67
GREY, SIR EDWARD, answer to Germany's proposals of neutrality, xi:33; attitude toward Austria's treatment of Serbia, xi:26, 29; American intervention proposal of 1916, xi:300; biographical note, xi:84; England on the brink of war; speech, xi:84; Kaiser Wilhelm's opinion of, xi:29; Roosevelt's letter of warning, xi: 234
GUAM, ISLAND OF, ceded to United States, conditions of peace ultimatum, *text,* x:157
"Guanahani" (San Salvador), i: 159
*Guerrière* captured by the *Constitution,* v:154, 157
GUITEAU, CHARLES J., assassination of Garfield, ix:242
GUNS, long range, bombard Paris, xii:67; description and operation of, xii:68

## H

HAIG, SIR DOUGLAS, Britain's back to the wall; appeal to his troops, xii:76
HALF-KING, speech to French general, iii:16; detained by French commandant, iii:32
HALL, CAPT. JAMES NORMAN, airplane duel of, xii:151
HALL OF MIRRORS, arrangement for signing of peace treaty, xii:205
HALSTEAD, MURAT, How Lincoln was nominated, vii:279
HAMILTON, ALEXANDER, Estimate of Jefferson, iv:272; "Federalist" essays, with resulting honors, iv: 304; necessity of a constitution, iv:304; on the hostility of Jefferson and Madison, iv:272; opinion on the constitutionality of the United States Bank, vi: 118; political views, iv:272; why and how Burr killed Hamilton (Hamilton's position), v:28
HAMILTON, GEN. SIR IAN, report on Gallipoli expedition, xi:277
HAMILTON, JAMES, surrender at Vincennes, iii:263
HAMPTON ROADS CONFERENCE, viii: 267
HANCOCK, JOHN, and the Constitution, iv:146; British attempt to capture, iii:119; house undamaged by British troops, iii:164
HANLIN YUAN COLLEGE fired during Boxer rebellion, x:171
HANOVER COURT HOUSE, battle of, viii:128
HANSEN, HARRY, Signing the treaty of Versailles, xii:205
HARBOR DUES in Russian "sphere of interest" in China, x:167
HARDING, WARREN GAMALIEL, address at Conference on the limitation of armaments, xii:227; Charles E. Hughes' tribute, xii: 238; ends technical state of war and seeks to relieve economic conditions, xii:239; insistence on reduction of national expenditure, xii:240; visit to Alaska, xii:244
HARPE, BÉRNARD DE LA, Settlement of Louisiana, ii:291
HARPER'S FERRY RAID of John Brown, vii:264
HARRISON, BENJAMIN, presidential campaign against Cleveland, ix: 287
HARRISON, WILLIAM HENRY, battle of the Thames, v:181; battle of Tippecanoe, v:105; elected President, vi:271; death, vi:272; homestead of, vii:242
HARTFORD, first written constitution, *text,* ii:167; convention, 1814-1815, v:228; resolutions, *text,* v:234
HARVARD COLLEGE, founded, ii:153; rules and precepts, ii:153; commencement exercises, ii:157
HARVEY, SIR JOHN, ii:153; kindness to Lord Baltimore's colonists, ii: 133
HAWAII, annexation of, *text of treaty,* x:107
HAWLEY, JESSE, outlines Erie canal, vi:14
HAWKINS, SIR JOHN, aids Huguenot colonists, ii:25; father of English slave trade, ii:26

HAY, JOHN, on Lincoln's assassination, viii:306; open door in China, x:165; political activities, x:165; Hay-Pauncefote treaty, covering construction and operation of Panama canal; *text,* x:218
HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY; *text,* x: 218
HAYES, RUTHERFORD B., Hayes-Tilden presidential contest, ix:185
HAYMARKET RIOT, Chicago, ix:274
HAYNE, ROBERT YOUNG, Webster's reply to, vi:59
HEATH, WILLIAM, Battle of White Plains, iii:193; Execution of André, iii:291
HEBARD, GRACE RAYMOND, "Bird-woman" who guided Lewis and Clark, v:56
HELIGOLAND BIGHT, battle of, xi: 158
HELLULAND, i:25, 38
HENNEPIN, FATHER LOUIS, ii:231; Discovery of Niagara falls, ii: 231; M. Robert Cavelier de la Salle, ii:256
HENRY VII, king of England, grant to the Cabots, i:198
HENRY, Prince of Prussia, appeal to King George to aid in preventing war, xi:41
HENRY, PATRICK, as a speaker, iii: 113; biographical note, iii:115; debate in first Continental congress, iii:108; "Give me liberty or give me death," iii:115; Jefferson's estimate of, iv:282; warning against reconciliation, iii:254
*Herald of Freedom* (newspaper), condemned, vii:223
HERNDON, WILLIAM H., Lincoln's first inauguration, viii:13; re-election, viii:263
HEROLD, DAVID E., viii:309, 311
HIGGINSON, STEPHEN, How John Hancock supported the Constitution, iv:146
HILDRETH, RICHARD, iv:197; Anthony Wayne routs the Ohio Indians, iv:197
HINDENBURG, MARSHAL PAUL VON, approaches Foch in behalf of Armistice plenipotentiaries, xii: 158
HINDENBURG LINE north of Bellenglise, broken by American and British troops, xii:127
HIPPER, REAR ADM. VON, at battle of Dogger bank, xi:241
HOBSON, LT. RICHMOND, heroism at Santiago, x:135
HOLLAND, makes war prisoners of retreating English, xi:211
HOLY SEPULCHER, Columbus' plan to rescue, i:175
HOOD, GEN. JOHN BELL, Thomas defeats Hood at Nashville; official report, viii:249
HOOKER, GEN. JOSEPH, at Lookout Mountain, viii:217; in battle of Fredericksburg, viii:157; placed in command of Army of the Potomac, viii:164
HOOPER, WILLIAM, as a speaker, iii: 113
HORSES and horsemen in early California, vii:59
HORSESHOE BEND, battle of, v:237
HOSPITAL SHIPS sunk, xii:26
HOUSE, COL. EDWARD M., aids in proposal of American intervention, xi:300
*"House divided against itself cannot stand,"* vii:258
HOUSING PROBLEMS in Panama Canal zone, x:266
HOUSTON, GEN. SAMUEL, prepares for the battle of San Jacinto, vi:219; President of the Republic of Texas, vi:219; proclamation to people of Texas, vi:216
HOWARD, MAJ. JOHN H., vi:229
HOWE, GEN. SIR WILLIAM, commands British troops in battle of Long Island, iii:186
HUBBARD, ELBERT and wife, death on the *Lusitania,* xi:262
HUBBARD, REV. WILLIAM, outbreak of King Philip's war, ii:213
HUDSON, HENRY, description of the Indians, i:318; discovery of the Hudson river, i:307, 316; third voyage, i:315
HUDSON, NEW YORK, Lafayette's reception, vi:32
HUDSON BAY COMPANY, Northwest fur trade, iv:160; sublease of Alaskan privileges of the Russian-American Company, ix:40
HUDSON RIVER, discovery, i:307, 316
HUGHES, CHARLES EVANS, "Back to normalcy" with President Harding; memorial address, xii:238; on the limitation of armaments, xii:229

HULL, CAPT. ISAAC, *Constitution* captures the *Guerrière,* v:154
HULL, GEN. WILLIAM, Cass describes Hull's ignominy, v:145; conduct and court-martial, v:135; Surrender of Detroit, v:135
HUNT, RICHARD M., architectural plans for World's Columbian exposition, x:41, 43
HUNT, ROBERT, character, ii:70, 74
HUNTER, ROBERT M. T., member of Confederate commission to confer upon peace terms, viii:267
HURLBURT, GEN. STEPHEN AUGUSTUS, in battle of Shiloh, viii:105
HUTCHINSON, THOMAS, iii:72; address to court on Stamp act, iii:75; Boston tea party, iii:96; takes action in regard to Boston massacre, iii:86
HUTCHINSON RIOT over the Stamp act, iii:72

## I

ICELAND, settlement, i:20
ICELAND TO GREENLAND flight, first, xii:253
ICELANDIC literature, i:21
IMPEACHMENT, threatened, of Andrew Johnson, ix:48
IMPRESSMENT of seamen on American ships, v:118, 120, 130
INAUGURAL ADDRESS of Jackson, 1824; *text,* vi:43; of Jefferson Davis, vii:311; of Lincoln (first), viii:21; of Washington, iv:167
INCANDESCENT ELECTRIC LIGHT, invention of, ix:226
INCOME TAX provisions of Wilson Tariff bill, x:48
INDENTURED "WHITE SLAVES" in the colonies, ii:309
INDEPENDENCE, American, recognized by France, iii:251; growing desire for, in the colonies, iii:136; of nationalities in Europe, main issue of war, according to Clémenceau, xi:117; according to Grey, xi:93; reasons for (Thomas Paine), iii:151
INDIA, English loss of, threatened by the Kaiser, xi:32; treaty of Locarno imposes no obligations upon, xii:268
INDIANA, fertility, vii:249; in 1857, vii:243; political importance in Lincoln's second campaign, viii:264
INDIANS, agencies and traders, ix:195, 197; Americus Vespucius' account of the, i:188; at battle of the Thames, 1813, v:181; attacks on Daniel Boone, iii:90; baptized by De Vaca, i:257; battle of Tippecanoe, v:105; British advice to remain at peace with Americans, vi:137; care of wives, i:235; ceremonies for Marquette mission, ii:207; Chicago land deal, vi:174; chief defies De Soto, i:279; communism, i:166; converts of John Eliot, ii:260; customs, i:188, 235; customs at death, i:283; defeated in Ohio by Gen. Wayne, iv:197; defense of religion, v:66; described by Archer, i:296; Columbus, i:162; Coronado, i:267; De Vaca, i:248; Hudson, i:232, 318; Verrazzano, i:232; De Vaca's reception by, i:247; dress, 1833, vi:176; dwellings, i:235; encountered on the Lewis and Clark expedition, v:42, 50, 56; flag-bearers killed by Americans, vi:133, 136, 145; food, i:268; *food, see also Dogs, feast of;* Francis Drake's meeting with the, i:285; friendship toward Père Marquette, ii:198, 206; fur trade in the Northwest, iv:151; generosity, i:162, 234, 245, 250; George Rogers Clark's attitude toward, iii:264; half-breed traders in Chicago, 1833, vi:178; horse race in Chicago, 1833, vi:176; hostility of, influences surrender of Detroit, v:135; Hudson's meeting with the, i:313; incited to war against Americans by Canada, vi:285; intoxication, vi:177; King Philip's war, ii:213; lands opened, x:22; medicine bags, vi:130, 139, 147; meet in council with Washington (1753), iii:19; method of cooking, i:248; peace provisions of Treaty of Ghent, v:261; power of making peace or war within colonies, iii:46; President Jackson's attitude toward, vi:46, 49, 58; prophecy of white man's coming, i:270; relations with the French in the Ohio country, iii:16; religion, v:66; reserves in western states, vii:208; show delight on beholding explorers, i:

227, 231, 245, 250; sold as slaves in Spain, i:197; sympathy for, during Seminole war, vi:256; treatment of, by the Christians, i:252; treatment of Puritans, ii: 106, 116; war in the Yellowstone region, 1876, ix:195
INDIANS, WOMEN, i:167, 189, 233, 250, 272; women and children killed by American soldiers, ii: 213n, vi:146; killed by Sioux, vi: 147
INDIANS, (*Cow nation*), i:248; (*Creek*), crushing of; United States War department report, vi:227; defeat of, v:237; Jackson's defeat of the Creeks, v:237; (*Iroquois*), battle with French on Lake Champlain, i:301; (*Kishwacokee*), offer help to Black Hawk, vi:137; (*Sac*), Black Hawk war, vi:125; (*Seminole*), subjugation, 1835-42, vi: 255; wars, v:277; vi:71, 255; (*Shawnee*), battle of Tippecanoe, v:105
INDIANS OF (*California*), character, i:290; customs and dress, i:287; (*Connecticut*), massacre of, ii: 143; (*Florida*), attitude toward Huguenots, ii:23, 43; endeavors to live in peace, v:279; (*Manhattan Island*), ii:124; (*Maryland*), appearance, customs, etc., ii:138; treatment of Lord Baltimore's colonists, ii:134; (*Pennsylvania*), customs, character, laws, etc., ii:245; treaty with William Penn, ii:245; (San Salvador), i:154; (Virginia), cause Bacon's rebellion, ii:225; canoes, ii:53; ceremonies, character, customs, food, etc., ii:50, 77; copper, ii:60; pearls, ii:58; protective laws of Virginia's first assembly, *text,* ii:94, 95; reception of English, ii:49; treatment of John Smith and colonists, ii:72 76; treatment of Ralph Lane and colonists ii:57, 62
INFLATION leading to panic of 1873, ix:159
INJUNCTION, government by, x:61, 62
INTEREST RATE, stability under Federal Reserve system, x:313
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE on the limitation of armaments, xii:227
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF LABOR, peace meeting, xii:42
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS in time of war, xi:236
INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION and the railways, ix:282
INVESTMENT BANKING, influence of Federal Reserve act, x:312
IROQUOIS, *See Indians, Iroquois*
IRVINE, CAPT., Report on conditions in Boston before British evacuation, iii:161
IRVING, WASHINGTON, Columbus in Spain, i:99; death of Columbus, i:214; life and voyages of Christopher Columbus, i:59; meeting with Dickens, vi:297, 300; Reception of Columbus in Spain, i: 170
ISABELLA offers to pledge jewels to finance Columbus expedition, i: 128
ISABELLA AND FERDINAND, i:102; reception of Columbus after his discovery, i:174
ISLANDS, claimed by the United States: provisions of Treaty of Ghent, v:254, 256
ISTHMIAN CANAL COMMISSION, assumes legislative control of the canal zone, x:269; price for Panama canal rights agreed upon, x:248
ITALY, attitude toward war shown in German dispatches of August 1914, xi:35; joins the Allies, xi: 284; neutrality and friendship of, as seen by Clémenceau, xi:117

## J

JACKSON, ANDREW, address to army after battle of Horseshoe Falls, v:240; appointment of his friends to office, vi:49; approval of the spoils system, vi:49; at the battle of New Orleans, v:242; attitude toward the Indians, vi:46, 49, 58; break with Calhoun; their diplomatic correspondence, vi: 71-90; character, vi:40; defeat of the Creeks at battle of Horseshoe Bend, v:237; elected president, vi:38; first inaugural address; *text,* vi:43; first Seminole war, v:277; invasion of Florida, v: 277; *kitchen cabinet,* vi:180, 189; monopolies and exclusive privi-

leges, danger of, vi:112; opinion of standing armies, vi:45; panic of 1837, outgrowth of fight on Bank of the United States, vi: 248; popularity and wealth, v: 278; principles of executive government defined, vi:180; vetoes bill to renew charter of the United States Bank, vi:111; censured by Senate, vi:180; protest to Senate, vi:182; vote of censure expunged from Congressional Record, vi:180
JACKSON, DR. C. T., claims to discovery of surgical anesthesia, vii: 63
JACKSON, MARY ANNA, Death of Stonewall Jackson, viii:175
JACKSON, GEN. THOMAS JONATHAN, death; account by his wife, viii: 175; eulogy by her, viii:175; last words, viii:182; second battle of Bull Run, viii:132; wounded at Chancellorsville, viii:166, 174
JACKSON PARK FAIR GROUNDS, Chicago exposition, x:38
JAGOW, GOTTLIEB VON, interview with British Ambassador about violation of Belgian neutrality, xi:77
JAMESTOWN, VA., settlement, ii:69
JAPAN (*see also Japanese*); ceremonies, costumes, and customs, 1852-54, vii:171; German plan for German-Japanese-Mexican alliance against the United States, xii:23; gold in, i:82; Marco Polo's description, i:82; ports opened to the United States, *text of treaty,* vii:194; reception of Commodore Perry, vii: 171; ultimatum to Germany, *text,* xi:137
JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES, first treaty, *text,* vii:194; treaty negotiations of Perry, vii:171
JAVA, Marco Polo's description, i: 90
*Java* (vessel), capture and destruction of, v:160
JAY, JOHN, debate in first Continental congress, iii:110; Treaty of Paris, iv:43, 48
JEFFERSON, THOMAS, iv:262, 266; apprehensive view of the Missouri compromise, v:305; attitude toward events leading to War of 1812, v:122; election of, iv: 266; embargo on trade, v:92; estimate of Patrick Henry, iv: 282; estimate of Washington, iv: 262; Hamilton's estimate of, iv: 272; importance of Louisiana to the States, iv:287; original draft of the Declaration, iii: 171; Webster's impression of, iv:279; why chosen to write the Declaration of Independence, iii:180; writing of the Declaration, iii: 166
JELLICOE, ADM. SIR JOHN R., commands British Grand Fleet off Jutland, xi:306
JERUSALEM, Columbus' ambition to rescue, i:132
JEWETT, C. C., Dorr's rebellion, vi: 273
JOFFRE, MARSHAL JOSEPH JACQUES CESARE, From the frontiers to the Marne, xi:162; proclamation to Maunoury's army, *text,* xi: 182; Marne, battle of the, *order of the day,* xi:190; report to the minister of war, xi:190
JOHN II, king of Portugal, i:70
JOHNSON, ANDREW, attitude toward the South after the war, ix:16; threatened impeachment, ix:48
JOHNSON, CAPT. EDWARD, character and achievements, ii:127; settlement of Massachusetts, ii:127
JOHNSON, GEN. EDWARD, taken captive at the Wilderness, viii:224
JOHNSON, COL. RICHARD M., at battle of the Thames, v:181, 184
JOHNSON, THOMAS, as a speaker, iii:113; nominates Washington as commander-in-chief, iii:125
JOHNSTON, ALEXANDER, famous Charter oak affair, ii:234
JOHNSTON, GEN. JOSEPH E., first battle of Bull Run, viii:63
JONES, JOHN PAUL, Capture of the *Serapis* by the *Bon Homme Richard,* iii:273
PEREZ DE MARCHENA, JUAN, i:120
JUET, ROBERT, account of the discovery of the Hudson river, i:307
JULIAN, GEORGE WASHINGTON, Rise of the Republican party, vii: 211
*Justice and Expediency*, Whittier's first venture in authorship, vi: 158
JUTLAND, DENMARK, battle of, xi: 306

K

*Kaiser Battle,* attacks of 1918, xii: 67n, 72n, 76n
Kansas, guerrilla warfare between Pro-slavery and Free-state parties, vii:221
*Kansas Free-State* (newspaper), condemned, vii:223
Kansas-Nebraska Bill, vii:199; defense of, vii:205; Lincoln on, vii: 259
Kansas-Nebraska Emigration, vii: 209
Karlsefni, attempt to settle Vinland, 1:48
Kautsky, Karl, assassinated for editing German dispatches, xi:37
*Kearsarge* (cruiser) sinks the *Alabama,* viii:229
Keeling Island, destruction of wireless and cable by crew of *Emden,* xi:123, 132
Kemble, Frances (Fanny) Anne, account of her journey from New York to Utica, vi:104
Kendall, Amos, achievements as Postmaster-general, vi:189; Transmitting anti-slavery mail, vi:189
Kentucky, migration of Boone to, iii:89; militia aid Wayne's Ohio campaign, iv:199, 200
Key, Francis Scott, What inspired the *Star-spangled banner,* v:223
Key-Smith, Francis Scott, on the *Star-spangled banner,* v:226
Kiao-Chao, China, declared a free port, x:168
King Philip, death, ii:219
King Philip's War, ii:213
Kishwacokee Indians offer help to Black Hawk, vi:137
Kitchen Cabinet, vi:180, 189
Kitchener, Field Marshal Horatio Herbert, Earl, Britain fails at Gallipoli, xi:275
Kluck, von, failure to reach Paris, xi:177; defeats that caused failure, xi:178; retreat from the Ourcq, xi:181
Knickerbocker Trust Co., difficulties during panic of 1907, x:256
Knights of Labor, ix:278
Know-Nothing Party, birth and nature of, vii:214; disruption of, vii:217
Knox, Capt. John, Wolfe defeats Montcalm at Quebec, iii:62
Knox, Philander C., peace resolution vetoed by Wilson, *text,* xii:220, 223
Krupp Records prove Belgian attitude of neutrality, xi:81
Kublai Khan, attempt to conquer Japan, i:83
Ku-Klux Klan, ix:110
Kulturliga, activities of, xi:15

L

Labor (*see also American Federation of Labor; International Congress of Labor*): disturbances of 1886, ix:274; of 1894, x:54; movements to end war, xii:42; problems in the Panama Canal zone, x:266, 271, 273
Laboring Class, elevation of, vi: 234
Lafayette, George Washington, visits U. S. with his father, vi: 34
Lafayette, Marie Jean Paul, marquis de, arrives in America (letter to his wife, 1777), iii: 217; at Georgetown, iii:228; attitude of his family toward his American expedition, iii:226; forbidden by French government to proceed to America, iii:226; friendship with Washington, iii: 231, 245; granted rank of major-general, iii:230; letter to Washington on the Conway affair, iii: 245; *Memoirs* (*extract*), iii:222; part in southern campaign, iii: 298; received coldly by Congress, iii:230; wounded at battle of Philadelphia, iii:233; (*Second visit to America*), 1824, vi:25; honors and gifts of Congress, vi: 36; reception at West Point, vi: 28; triumphal tour, vi:34
Lancaster, John, rescues crew of the *Alabama,* viii:231
Lands, Public, covered by Hawaiian treaty, *text,* x:108; in the United States, iv:18
Lane, Ralph, Colony at Roanoke, 1586, ii:57
Langley, Prof. Samuel Pierpont, experiments and studies in aeronautics, x:185

LANSING, ROBERT, War with Mexico is threatened, (official letter), xii:13
LA SALLE, ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE, explorations, ii:256; death, ii:259
LATOUR, MAJ. ARSÈNE LACARRIÈRE, v:242; Battle of New Orleans, v:242
LATROBE, JOHN HAZLEHURST BONEVAL, biographical note, vi:66; first American locomotive described, vi:66
LAUDONNIÈRE, RENÉ DE, accusations against, ii:20, 28; command in Florida, ii:16
LAURENS, HENRY, Treaty of Paris, iv:43, 48
LAW, A. BONAR, shows financial dilemma of Great Britain, xii:49
LAWRENCE, CAPT. JAMES, killed in engagement of his *Chesapeake* with the *Shannon*, v:166
LAWRENCE, KANSAS, settlement, vii:221; sacking of, vii:225
LEAGUE OF NATIONS, council disputes to be submitted to, xii:265; dependence of the Dawes plan upon, xii:260; opposition to, in the treaty reservations of the United States, *text*, xii:214
LEARY, COMMANDER RICHARD, curbs German efforts to take Samoan Islands, ix:296
LEE, CHARLES, captured by British, iii:202
LEE, GEN. FITZHUGH, commands Confederate cavalry at battle of Appomattox Court House, viii:281
LEE, GEN. HENRY, funeral oration on Washington, iv:253
LEE, JASON, founds Methodist mission in Oregon, vi:287
LEE, RICHARD HENRY, iii:180; as a speaker, iii:113; biographical note, iii:254; charges plagiarism against the Declaration of Independence, iii:166
LEE, GEN. ROBERT EDWARD, attitude after the war, ix:13; Battle of Chancellorsville, viii:166; Capture of John Brown, vii:264; conference with his generals before Appomattox, viii:278; generalship at Antietam, viii:139; message to Davis on the necessity of evacuating Richmond, viii:272; message to Stonewall Jackson on his injury, viii:181; surrenders to Grant at Appomattox, viii:286; tactics at the battle of the Wilderness, viii:224; terms of surrender, viii:289
LEGARDEUR DE SAINT-PIERRE, JACQUES, see Saint-Pierre, Jacques Lagardeur de
LEGATIONS, conditions in, during Boxer rebellion, x:170
LEISLER, LT.-GOV. JACOB, rebellion against royal governor, ii:266; takes title of Lieutenant-Governor, ii:269; trial and execution, ii:271
LEMAN, GEN. GÉRARD JOSEPH MATHIEU GEORGES, the fall of Liège, xi:133; letter to King Albert on destruction of fort Loncin, xi:135
*Leopard*, attack on the *Chesapeake*, v:78
LEWIS, EVAN, prepares way for first Anti-slavery convention, vi:159
LEWIS, CAPT. MERIWETHER, activities and rewards, v:38; Crossing the *Great Divide*, v:50
LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION, v:38
LEXINGTON, battle of, iii:119
*Liberator, The* (paper) started by Garrison, vi:91, 195
LIBERTY, struggle for, in European war, xii:32, 35
LIBERTY ENGINE in war aviation, xii:148
LIBERTY LOAN ARMY and results obtained, xii:78
LICHNOWSKY, PRINCE KARL MAX VON, admission of German responsibility for war, xi:130; biographical note, xi:130
LIEF ERICSSON, i:19, 25, 37
LIÈGE, BELGIUM, fall of, and battle that destroyed fort Loncin, xi:133
LINCOLN, ABRAHAM, vii:258n; *"A house divided against itself cannot stand,"* vii:258; appearance described by Charles A. Dana, viii:42; as a military leader, viii:44; as seen by Thurlow Weed, vii:293; assassination, viii:306; drafts the Emancipation proclamation, viii:159; dress, viii:19; effect of inaugural address on the South, viii:21; first cabinet, viii:36; first inaugural

address, viii:21; first inauguration ceremonies, viii:13; letter to Hooker placing him in command of the army of the Potomac, viii: 164; letter to McClellan, viii: 122; making his cabinet, vii:292; nomination and rejoicing over, vii:279, 283; premonition of death, viii:16; re-election, viii: 263; threats of assassination received, viii:306
LINCOLN, GEN. BENJAMIN, iv:106n; Evils that prompted Shays' rebellion, iv:106; receives Cornwallis's sword, iii:307
LINCOLN TRUST COMPANY, difficulties during panic of 1907, x:257
LIND, JOHN, mission to Mexico, with text of Wilson's instructions, x:302
LIQUOR destroyed before the evacuation of Richmond, viii:273
LITERATURE, ICELANDIC, i:21
LIVINGSTON, ROBERT R., and Fulton's steamboat, v:86
LLOYD GEORGE, DAVID, xii:35n; Britain welcomes America into the war, xii:35; on Germany's reasons for war with the United States, xii:37
LOCARNO, SWITZERLAND, CONFERENCE, signs of a real peace treaty
LOCARNO, TREATY OF, signers, xii: 269; *text of the treaty,* xii:263; to be registered at the League of nations, xii:268
LOCKE, JOHN, ii:181n; Fundamental constitutions of Carolina, ii:181
LOCOMOTIVE, first American, vi:66; race with horse-drawn train, vi:69; speed, vi:68.
*Log-cabin and hard cider* campaign, vi:263
LONCIN (fort of Liège), fall of, xi:133
LONDON ABOLITION PLOT, vi:314
LONG, DR. CRAWFORD H., discoverer of anesthesia, vii:65
LONG ISLAND, battle of, iii:186; behavior of American troops, iii: 187
LONGSTREET, GEN. JAMES, commands infantry at Appomattox, viii:279; gives order for Pickett's charge at Gettysburg, viii:185
LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN, battle of, viii:214
LOST RIVER, vii:245
LOUISIANA, STATE, first settlement of, ii:291; insurrectionary literature, distribution of illegal, vi: 192
LOUISIANA, TERRITORY, boundary settlement with Spain, vii:29; explorations of Lewis and Clark, v:38; Jefferson on importance to the states, iv:287; sale by Napoleon to the United States, iv: 294
LOUVAIN, burning of, and German reasons for, xi:152, 153; description, xi:153
LOVEJOY, ELIJAH P., abolition incites the murder of, vi:239
LOWELL, CHARLES RUSSELL, mortally wounded at Cedar Creek, viii: 241
LUCE, CAPT. JOHN, sea fight off Coronel, Chile, xi:220
LUNDY'S LANE, battle of, v:190
*Lusitania* (vessel), sinking of, xi: 261; draws protest from Wilson, xi:266
LUTWITZ, GEN. VON, reasons for burning Louvain, xi:153

M

MACABEBES, aid in capture of Aguinaldo, x:228
MCCLELLAN, GEN. GEORGE B., ability as a commander, viii:117; differences with Lincoln, viii: 122; generalship at Antietam, viii:139; battle of Antietam, viii: 139; opposes Lincoln for presidency, viii:263; Peninsular campaign, viii:117; report to the War Department, viii:124
MCCLERNAND, GEN. JOHN ALEXANDER, in capture of Fort Donelson, viii:88
MCCOMBS, WILLIAM FRANK, management of Wilson's presidential campaign, 1912, x:290, 293, 294
MCCULLOUGH *vs.* MARYLAND, v: 297; vi:118
MACDONOUGH, CAPT. THOMAS, battle of Lake Champlain and his rewards, v:212
MCKINLEY, WILLIAM, assassination, x:202; election and inauguration, x:98; message to Congress on intervention in Cuba, x:120; problems and policies, x:100; Tariff bill of 1889-90, ix:304

M'KENNEY, COL. THOMAS LORRAINE, account of the spoils system, vi:49; accused by President Jackson, vi:51; defends himself, vi:54; dismissal from service as commissioner of Indian Department, vi:57
MACLAY, WILLIAM, iv:163; Washington becomes our first president, iv:163
MADELIN, LOUIS, The Marne, xi: 184; Where von Kluck failed, xi:178
MADISON, "DOLLY" (Mrs. James Madison), escape from burning Washington, v:206
MADISON, JAMES, administration and events leading to War of 1812, v:116, 125; conduct at the capture and burning of Washington, v:209; diplomatic papers and treatises on neutral trade and law of nations, v:122; *Federalist* essays, with resulting honors, iv: 304, 312; framing the Constitution, iv:113; last days of the Revolution, iii:295; services as "Father of the Constitution," iv: 83, 113; view of the powers vested in the Union, iv: 312; why the Confederation failed to work, iv:83
MAILS, interference with transportation of, x:59
*Maine* (man-of-war), destruction of, x:112
MALARIA conquered in Panama Canal zone, x:265
*Manassas, first battle of, see Bull Run, first battle of*
*Manhates, see Manhattan Island*
MANHATTAN ISLAND, settled, ii:121
MANHATTES RIVER, i:318
MANILA BAY, battle of, x:125
*Man-stealing, see Impressment*
MARKLAND, i:26, 38
MARNE, battle, xi:184; Americans prevent crossing by enemy at Château-Thierry, xii:91; offensive of July, 1918, halted by American and French troops, xii: 93; retreat to the, xi:162; salient won by American and French troops, xii:116
MARQUETTE, PÈRE JACQUES, death of, ii:205; discovery of the Mississippi, ii:198
MARRYAT, CAPT. FREDERICK, panic of 1837, vi:248
MARSHALL, JOHN, abilities, v:297; Death of Washington, iv:245; on his "Life of Washington," iv: 245; powers of Federal government, v:297; X Y Z correspondence, iv:204
MARTIN, DR. CHARLES, *Monitor* and *Merrimac* in action, viii:97
MARTIN, THOMAS C. and DYAR, FRANK L., Edison's electric light invention, ix:226
MARTINEAU, MISS HARRIET, vi:253
MARYLAND, climate and resources, ii:133; colonization of Lord Baltimore's plantation, ii:132
MASON, GREGORY, Allies in the Rhineland, xii:193
MASON, JAMES M., Commissioner to England from the Confederacy, viii:80
MASON, CAPT. JOHN, offices held, ii:143; Pequot massacre at Fort Mystic, ii:143
MASSACHUSETTS, Discontents that prompted Shays' rebellion, iv: 106; settlement, ii:127
MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL honors discoverer of surgical anesthesia, vii:66
MATHER, COTTON, Phipps, the first of our self made men, ii:272
MAUNOURY, GEN. MICHEL JOSEPH, Joffre's proclamation to his army, *text,* xi:182; wins battle of the Ourcq, xi:175, 180
MAURICE, GEN. SIR FREDERICK, Last American Expeditionary Force drive to Sedan, xii:139
MAY, SAMUEL J., delegate to the first Anti-slavery convention, vi: 161, 166
*Mayflower,* (vessel) voyage, ii:101
MAYFLOWER COMPACT, *text,* ii:113
MECHANICS, AMERICAN, opportunities in 1811, v:101
MECKLENBURG, NORTH CAROLINA, Declaration of Independence, iii: 184
MEDBERY, J. K., *Black Friday,* ix:76
MEDICAL TREATMENT at Valley Forge, iii:240
MEDICINE BAGS, Indian, vi:130, 139, 147
MELISH, JOHN, American ways of life in 1811, v:96; on his travels in the United States, v:96

MENDOZA, PEDRO GONZALEZ DE, i: 106
MENDOZA GRAJALAS, FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE, Founding of St. Augustine, ii:30; voyage among the West Indies, ii:31
MENENDEZ DE AVILES, PEDRO, voyage among the West Indies, ii:30; capture of the French in Florida, ii:32
MERCANTILE NATIONAL BANK, difficulties during panic of 1917, x:256
MERCHANTS' BANK NOTES, vi:254
*Merrimac* and *Monitor* in action, viii:97
MEUSE-ARGONNE, battle of the, xii: 131; sector chosen for First American army, xii:122
MEXICAN WAR, capture of Chapultepec and Mexico City, vii, 89, 96; reasons leading to, *text of Polk's message,* vii:68; Blaine's view, vii:75; Corwin's view, vii:85; Grant in, vii:96; terms of settlement considered, vii:100
MEXICANS among defenders of the Alamo, vi:204; massacre Texas prisoners at Goliad, vi:223; under Santa Ana besiege the Alamo, vi:205
MEXICO, attitude of Carranza government toward outrages perpetrated on Americans, 1914-16, xii: 13; California's revolt against, vii:46; efforts of Frémont to avoid difficulties with, vii:44; French empire in, opposed by United States, viii:268; friendship of the United States defined by Wilson, *text of message,* x: 299; German plan to embroil the United States with Mexico, xii: 23; settlement of internal difficulties, conditions laid down by Wilson, *text,* x:303; terms of settlement with United States considered, vii:100; territory coveted by United States, vii:101; war with the United States threatened, 1916, xii:13; Wilson's message to Congress on relations with, *text,* x:299
MEXICO CITY, capture of, vii:89, 96; defences and position of, vii: 89
MICHIGAN, admission to the Union, vii:133
MIDDLESEX, COUNTY COURT, Penalty for not going to church, *text,* ii:195
MIFFLIN, THOMAS, as a speaker, iii:113
*Military service, compulsory, see Compulsory military service*
MILITIA at the battle of Lexington, iii:120
*Militia pamphlet,* Col. M'Kinney accused of circulating, vi:52
MILLER, PHINEAS, partnership with Eli Whitney, iv:190
MINUIT, PETER, Governor of New Amsterdam, ii:124; West India Trading Company, ii:162
MINUTE MEN, iii:122
MISSIONARY, YANKEE, takes charge of Pekin legations, x:176
MISSIONARY RIDGE, battle of, viii: 214
MISSIONS in California, ii:314, 318
MISSISSIPPI, right to secede, vii: 304; settlements of the French, 1699, ii:292
MISSISSIPPI RIVER, British navigation rights discussed by Treaty of Ghent commissioners, v:263; discovery, i:276; ii:198; explorations of the French, 1698-99, ii: 291; navigation of, in Treaty of Paris, iv:46
MISSOURI COMPROMISE, apprehensive view of Thomas Jefferson, v:305; moderate view of Hezekiah Niles, v:313; northern view of John Quincy Adams, v:309; repeal, vii:199, 201, 206, 212
MITCHELL, PROF. O. M., procured foreign loan for completion of Ohio and Mississippi railroad, vii:245
MOBILE BAY, battle of, viii:258
MONARCHY suggested to Washington, iv:27, 30
MONEY, GERMANY, xii:260
*Monitor* and *Merrimac* in action, viii:97
MONOPOLIES, President Jackson's views on the danger of, vi:112
MONROE, JAMES, Disarmament on the Great Lakes, *proclamation,* v:274; invitation to Lafayette, vi:35
MONROE DOCTRINE, extracts from messages and addresses of Monroe, v:288; interpreted and up-

held by Secretary Olney, x:66; issue in United States's attitude toward Mexico in 1864, viii:268
Monroe, Fort, base of operations for movement upon Richmond, viii:120
Mons, first British battle, xi:144
Montcalm, Louis Joseph de St. Veran, marquis de, defeated by Wolfe at Quebec, iii:62; mortally wounded, iii:68; death of, iii:70
Monterey, California, American Alcalde at, vii:52; taken by Commodore Sloat, vii:49
Montmédy pillaged and evacuated, xii:143
Monts, Sieur de, exploration of Canada, ii:82
Moon at the North pole, x:280
Moors, surrender of, i:124
Morgan, Daniel, defeats part of Cornwallis's army, iii:296
Morgan, Fort, surrenders to Farragut, viii:258
Mormon exodus to Utah, vii:106
Moroccan division in Foch's counter attack of July, 1918, xii:103, 113, 116
Morris, Gouverneur, suggests canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson, vi:13
Morse, Samuel Finley Breese, invention of the telegraph, vi:305; straitened circumstances, vi:312
Morton, Gov. Marcus, of Massachusetts, vi:264
Morton, Nathaniel, history of New England, ii:149; Roger Williams in Rhode Island, ii:149
Morton, Dr. William T. G., biographical note, vii:63; discovery of surgical anesthesia, vii:63; honors accorded, vii:66
Mott, Lucretia, delegate to the first Anti-slavery convention, 1833, vi:166
Mount Vernon, Washington as host, iv:234
Mücke, Lieut. Hellmuth von, Cruise and destruction of the *Emden,* xi:123
Muehlon, Dr. William, German defense of Belgium, xi:81
*Mugwumps* and the Blaine-Cleveland campaign, ix:259
Mukataquet, vi:139
Müller, Capt. Karl von, chivalry while commander of the *Emden,* xi:123
*Mulligan letters* of James G. Blaine, ix:253
Munitions for Belgium manufactured in Germany, xi:81
Mutiny, and bankruptcy face the new republic of United States, iv:27; of Columbus's men, i:144; of Philadelphia soldiers threatens Congress, 1783, iv:36
Mystic, Fort, Pequot massacre, ii:143

N

Nanamakee, vi:139
Napoleon I, on selling Louisiana to the United States, iv:294
*Narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas,* i:279
Nashville, battle of, viii:249
National Committee of Republicans and Independents oppose James G. Blaine, ix:259
*National Gazette,* hostility to Hamilton, iv:274
Naval Forces on the Great Lakes, v:274
Naval Limitations set at Washington arms conference, xii:234
Naval Warfare as conducted by Germany, xii:25
Neapope, vi:129, 136, 142
Negro Citizenship, provisions of the Fourteenth amendment, ix:64; of the Fifteenth amendment, ix:105
Negro Government during carpet-bag days, ix:152
Negro Troops at capture of Santiago, x:141; in the South, Gen. Grant warns against, ix:18
Negroes (*see also Slavery, Slaves*): persecution by the Ku-Klux Klan, ix:110; savagery of fugitives, vi:259
Neill, Col., in command of San Antonio, 1835-36, vi:202
Neutral Rights on the high seas, xi:250, 266; xii:27
Neutrality, provisions of the Treaty of Washington, 1871, *text,* ix:115; toward Mexico, Wilson's message to Congress, *text,* x:307
Neutralization of the Panama canal, *text of treaty,* x:219

NEUVE CHAPELLE, battle of, xi:258
NEW AMSTERDAM, conquest, ii:187; founding, ii:121
NEWBURGH, NEW YORK, Lafayette's reception, vi:29
NEW ENGLAND, climate and resources, ii:117; first English settlement, i:294; provinces resist Gov. Andros, ii:234; religious intolerance, ii:195; secession threatened, v:228
NEW JERSEY PLAN, arguments of Madison against, iv:83
NEW MEXICO, De Vaca's journey to, i:246
NEW MEXICO, slavery and free soil considerations, vii:81, 134, 152; terms of settlement considered, vii:100; territorial government, vii:134; Texas claims portion of, vii:138
NEW ORLEANS, capture of, (1862), viii:107; and the Floridas, Jefferson on transfer from France to the United States, iv:288
NEW ORLEANS, Battle of, v:242, 246
*New Orleans* and *Chicago* (airplanes), first round-the-world flight, xii:250
NEW ORLEANS GREYS in San Antonio, vi:202
NEW PANAMA CANAL COMPANY OF FRANCE distribution of money received for Panama rights, x:241; purchase of Panama canal rights and the Panama railroad company from, x:240
*News,* Indianapolis, stories of Panama canal corruption denounced by Roosevelt, x:237
NEWSPAPERS, first, on Pacific coast, vii:55; of South Carolina subsidized, ix:157
NEW SWEDEN founded, ii:159
NEW WORLD POWER, iv:11
NEW YORK (CITY), Dickens' visit, vi:298; evacuation by Americans (1776), iii:189; Lafayette's reception at Castle Garden, vi:27; Leisler's rebellion, ii:266; Tweed ring graft, ix:97
NEW YORK (STATE), Board of internal improvement recommended, vi:22; English conquest, ii:187; opportunities for mechanics and farmers, 1811, v:101; opposes reelection of Van Buren, vi:264
NIAGARA FALLS, described by Dickens, vi:302; discovery, ii:231
NICHOLAS II, czar of Russia, appeal to Kaiser to act as mediator with Austria, 1914, xi:37; telegrams to and from the Kaiser, 1914, xi:37; the Kaiser's opinion of, xi:51
NICOLA, COL. LOUIS, letter proposing that Washington become king, iv:30
NICOLAY, JOHN GEORGE, on Lincoln's assassination, viii:306
NICOLLS, COL. RICHARD, conquest of New Amsterdam, ii:188
NICHOLSON, FRANCIS, actions causing Leisler's rebellion, ii:267
NILES, HEZEKIAH, Moderate view of the Missouri compromise, v:313
*Nina* (ship) i:134
NOME, ALASKA, during the gold rush, x:73
*Non-intervention* doctrine affirmed, vii:203, 229
*Normalcy, Back to,* xii:238
NORSEMEN, voyages, i:19, 34
NORTH, feeling toward the South in 1828, vi:39
NORTH, LORD FREDERICK, neglects to sign order to Gen. Howe, iii:211
NORTHCLIFFE, ALFRED C. W. HARMSWORTH, viscount, *They shall not pass,* at Verdun, xi:290
NORTH POLE, Peary's discovery, x:279; ceremonies, flag planted, x:285
NORWEGIAN CRUISE of the Kaiser, July, 1914, xi:48
NORTHWEST COAST, as understood in treaties with Russia, ix:314
NORTHWEST COMPANY and the fur trade, iv:160
NORTHWEST FUR TRADE, iv:151
NORTHWEST ORDINANCE, iv:140
NORTHWEST TERRITORY, division and government, iv:18; explorations of Lewis and Clark, v:38; why it would not secede, iv:171
NOYES, ALEXANDER D., writings, x:28; Panic of 1893, x:28; Panic of 1907, x:254
NULLIFICATION combated in Webster's reply to Hayne, vi:59; defined, vii:305
NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA, ALVAR, converts the Indians, i:257; journey to New Mexico, i:246

*Observer* (weekly paper), press and type destroyed by mob, vi: 242
OFFICERS' PAY, delay after end of Revolution, iv:29
OGLETHORPE, GOV. JAMES EDWARD, achievements, ii:301; establishing the colony of Georgia, ii:301
OHIO campaign of Wayne, iv:197
OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RAILROAD, fittings of first train, vii:241; opening excursion, vii:240; road construction, vii:250
OHIO COMPANY, iii:11; iv:171
OHIO RIVER claimed by French, iii: 25; trip in 1811, v:99
OIL TANKERS refuel destroyers at sea, xii:45
OKLAHOMA, rush of settlers on opening of Cherokee strip, x:22
O'LAUGHLIN, MICHAEL, viii:309
OLCOTT, CHARLES S., McKinley in the White House, x:98; McKinley Tariff bill, ix:304
OLNEY, RICHARD, political activities, x:64; Venezuela affair, x:64
*On the brink of the precipice,* xii:49
O'NEILL, PEGGY, (MRS. JOHN HENRY EATON), Calhoun refused to support effort to reinstate in Washington society, vi:71
OPEN DOOR in China, x:165; in Japan, *text* of treaty, vii:194
OREGON, boundary dispute, vii:13; emigration into, vi:287; emigrants helped by Mormons, vii: 107; title endangered by acts of the Government, vi:288
ORME, CAPT. WILLIAM, How the *Guerrière* was outfought, v:157
OSCEOLA, massacre of Americans in Florida, vi:256
OSWALD, RICHARD, negotiations with American peace commissioners, iv:50
OTIS, HARRISON GRAY, and the Hartford convention, v:228
OTSEGO, NEW YORK, pioneer settlements, iv:77
OURCQ, battle of the, xi:175
OWEN, ROBERT L., achievements, x:309; Banking act to end panics, x:309
OXENSTIERNA, COUNT AXEL, Sweden's West India Trading Company, ii:162
PACA, WILLIAM, as a speaker, iii: 113
PACIFIC OCEAN, as understood in treaties with Russia, ix:314; discovered by Balboa, i:221; first aerial crossing, xii:252; reached by Lewis and Clark expedition, v:48; Russia's policy, vii:23
PAGE, WALTER H., asks financial aid for Great Britain, xii:49; urges haste in providing destroyers, xii:52; *On the brink of the precipice,* xii:49
PAGÈS, GARNIER, friend of Union government during Civil War, viii:85
PAINE, THOMAS, Call for independence, iii:151; Public land problem, iv:18; influence on American independence, iii:151
PAKENHAM, SIR EDWARD, at the battle of New Orleans, v:244, 247; negotiates treaty settling Oregon boundary dispute, vii:15
PALOS, SPAIN, celebrates Columbus's return, i:170
PANAMA, CITY, pavements, sewers and water provided, x:266
PANAMA CANAL, administrative problems, x:264; building of, told by Goethals, x:263; engineering problems, x:263, 270; feeding and housing employees, x:267; Hay-Pauncefote treaty, *text,* x: 218; housing problems, x:266; human element problems, x:271; labor problems, x:266, 271; turnover, x:273; machinery and machine shops for, x:267; purchase of, x:237; rumors of corruption in purchase, x:237; wage scales, x:277
PANAMA CANAL ZONE, governmental machinery, x:268; sanitation, x:264; settlements and buildings for, x:266
PANAMA RAILROAD, purchase of, by the United States, x:240; rebuilding of, x:268
PANICS, FINANCIAL (1837), effect, vi:248; (1869), *Black Friday,* ix:76; (1872), ix:159; (1893), x:28; (1907), x:254; banking act to end, x:309
PAPAL BULL dividing the new world; *text,* i:178

PARES, BERNARD, Capture of Przemysl, xi:254; Russians hurled back on the Dunajec, xi:269
PARIS bombarded by *Big Berthas,* xii:67; failure of Germans to reach, xi:175, 178; German advance stopped by Americans, xii:83; proclamations to the people, xi:172; saved by *taxicab army,* xi:175; vacated by French government, xi:172
PARIS, TREATY OF, explained, iv:43; negotiations, iv:48
PARKMAN, FRANCIS, De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi, i:374; Dominique de Gourgues, ii:40; Huguenots in Florida, ii:11
PARRIS FAMILY and witchcraft, ii:280
*Parson's cause,* iii:115
PARTON, JAMES, First Seminole war, v:277
PATRONAGE, POLITICAL, vs. Civil service reform, ix:231
PAUNCEFOTE, LORD JULIAN, Hay-Pauncefote treaty, *text,* x:218; negotiations over Behring Sea fisheries, ix:309
PEACE, conditions laid down in Wilson's *Fourteen points, text,* xii:61; movements of labor, national and international, xii:42; negotiations after Spanish-American war, *text,* x:156
*Peace assault* of Germans halted by French and American troops, xii:93
PEACE CONFERENCE, Clémenceau's address accepting the presidency, xii:200
PEACE OF GHENT, v:252, 263
PEACE RESOLUTION vetoed by Wilson, *text,* xii:220, 223
PEARY, ROBERT EDWIN, achievements, x:279; dedication of his life to discovery of North pole, x:287; discovery of the North pole, x:279
PECK, HARRY THURSTON, ix:251, 274; Blaine-Cleveland campaign, ix:251; Chicago Haymarket riot, ix:274; Debs railway strike, x:54; Disputing the Samoan Islands with Germany, ix:293; Wilson Tariff enacted, x:45
PEKIN, CHINA, legations, during Boxer rebellion, x:170; capture and occupation of, x:174
PEMBERTON, GEN. JOHN CLIFFORD, surrenders at Vicksburg, viii:199
PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN, viii:117
PENN, R., iii:112
PENN, WILLIAM, ii:239, 245; Description of Pennsylvania, ii:239; Treaty with the Indians, ii:245
PENNSYLVANIA, Penn's description, ii:239
PEQUOT MASSACRE at Fort Mystic, ii:143
PERRY, MATTHEW CALBRAITH, biographical note, vii:171; treaty with Japan, vii:171; *text of treaty,* vii:194
PERRY, CAPT. OLIVER HAZARD, Battle of Lake Erie, v:169
PERSHING, GEN. JOHN JOSEPH, America mobilizes, xii:54; American troops take Cantigny, xii:81; characteristics as seen by Bullard, xii:133; First American army in attack, xii:117; Foch given the supreme command, xii:72; insists upon a distinct American army, xii:120; last German attack is halted, xii:93; offers American forces to Foch, xii:72; on offensive fighting qualities of the American Expeditionary Force, xii:94, 126; reception in France, xii:54; urges counter-attack and offers troops, xii:97n
PERU AND CHILI, intervention attitude of the United States, ix:237
PÉTAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE BENONI OMER JOSEPH, at Verdun, xi:297
PETER MARTYR, letter to Pomponius Laetus regarding Columbus' discovery, i:177
PHILADELPHIA, Anti-slavery convention, 1833, vi:156; battle, iii:233; centennial exposition, ix:175; city described by John Adams, iii:114; city laid out, ii:242; constitutional convention, 1787, iv:83; first telephone exhibited, ix:219
*Philadelphia* (man-of-war), capture and burning of, v:17
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, Filipino insurrection and capture of Aguinaldo, x:223; policy of the United States outlined in peace ultimatum, *text,* x:158
PHIPPS, SIR WILLIAM, biography, ii:272

PICKERING, TIMOTHY, iii:180; criticizes writing of the Declaration of Independence, iii:166
PICKETT, GEN. GEORGE E., charge at Gettysburg, viii:183
PICKETT, LA SALLE CORBELL (Mrs. George E. Pickett), Pickett's charge at Gettysburg, viii:183
PIERCE, FRANKLIN, slavery problems of his administration, vii: 200, 211
PIKE, JAMES SHEPHERD, biographical note, ix:152n; carpet-bag government, ix:152
PINCKNEY, GEN. CHARLES, How Jefferson was elected, iv:266; X Y Z correspondence, iv:204
*Pinta* (ship), i:134
PIONEER SETTLEMENTS in New York (Cooperstown), iv:77; (Otsego), iv:77
PITT, WILLIAM, Earl of Chatham, Protest against the Stamp act, iii:77
PLAINS OF ABRAHAM, battle (1759), iii:65
PLATINUM, Edison's experiments with, x:227
PLATT, JONAS, vi:16
PLATTE RIVER, crossing of, vii:107
PLESS, PRINCESS DAISY OF, telegram begging Kaiser to use influence to avert war, xi:44
POCAHONTAS aids Capt. John Smith, ii:78, 80
POINCARÉ, RAYMOND, letter after battle of the Marne, xi:191
POLK, JAMES K., administration as seen by Blaine, vii:76, 79; arraigned by Corwin, vii:85; political activities, vii:68, 100; position in Oregon boundary dispute, vii:18; Reasons for the war with Mexico, *text of message,* vii:68; Why all of Mexico was not annexed, vii:100
POLLARD, EDWARD A., vii:199n; evacuation and fall of Richmond, viii:271; Kansas-Nebraska bill, vii:199
POLO, MARCO, prologue to the book of, i:80; travels, i:74
PONCE DE LEÓN, JUAN, appointed to government of Porto Rico, i:218; attempt to colonize Florida, i:220; discovers Florida, i:218; in Florida, i:217
POPE ALEXANDER VI, Papal bull dividing the new world, *text,* i:178
PORTER, EDWARD G., Discovery of the Columbia river, iv:178
PORTO RICO, ceded to the United States, conditions of peace ultimatum, *text,* x:157
PORTSMOUTH SQUARE PANIC during San Francisco earthquake and fire, x:253
POTOMAC RIVER, description, ii:133
POTSDAM CROWN COUNCIL, xi:49
POTTER, CAPT. R. M., Fall of the Alamo, vi:200
POTTOWATOMIE INDIANS, vi:130; treaty with whites of Chicago, vi:175
POUGHKEEPSIE, NEW YORK, Lafayette's reception, vi:30
POWELL, LEWIS, viii:309, 311
POWER-FLYER built by the Wright brothers, x:194
POWHATAN (Indian chief), treatment of Capt. John Smith, ii:77
POWNALL, THOMAS, new world power, iv:11
PRATT, ORSON, records of Mormon emigration, vii:109
PRE-COLUMBIAN VOYAGES, i:17
PREFERENTIAL BALLOT SYSTEM in the Federal Reserve act, x:316
PRENTISS, BENJAMIN MAYBERRY, Battle of Shiloh, viii:103
PRESCOTT, DR. SAMUEL, iii:121
*President Lincoln,* (transport), destroyed by submarine, xii:84
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS, Blaine and Cleveland, ix:251; William Jennings Bryan, x:91; Ulysses S. Grant, ix:69; Horace Greeley, ix:143; notes received by Harding and Cox, xii:238; William Henry Harrison, vi:263; Harrison and Cleveland, ix:287; Hayes and Tilden, ix:185; Andrew Jackson, vi:38
PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, accountability for official conduct, vi:184; oath of office, *text,* xii: 248
PRINCETON, battle of, iii:208
PRINTZ, COL. JOHN, government of New Sweden, ii:164
PRISONERS OF WAR, massacre of Texans at Goliad, vi:223; (French) plead for mercy, iii: 68; (German) taken near Soissons, xii:100, 114, 116

PROCTOR, GEN., conduct at battle of the Thames, v:181, 186; reproached in speech of Tecumseh, v:187
PROMONTORY POINT, UTAH, celebration on meeting of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads, ix:87
PROPHECY of Christians' coming to America, i:270
PRO-SLAVERY border-ruffian war in Kansas, vii:221
PROTECTIONIST PARTY, vii:202
PRUSSIAN AUTOCRACY as seen by Lloyd George, xii:36
PRZEMYSL, capture of, xi:254
PULITZER, JOSEPH, denounced by Roosevelt, x:238
PULLMAN, GEORGE M., attitude toward employees, x:55
PULLMAN, ILLINOIS, appearance and spirit of, x:55
PULLMAN PALACE CAR COMPANY, actions leading to strike of employees, x:55
PULLMAN STRIKE, (1886), ix:276; (1894), x:55
PURITANS, condition in England, ii:127; condition upon landing, ii:104; hardships, ii:104, 129; living conditions, ii:115; search for place to settle, ii:103
PUTNAM, RUFUS, Why the West would not secede, iv:171; activities in the Northwest Territory, iv:171

Q

QUAKERS, as delegates to the first Anti-slavery convention, vi:157, 161, 165; persecution, ii:175
QUEBEC, battle of (1759), iii:62; founding of (1608), ii:82
QUINCY, JOSIAH, v:92; Jefferson's embargo paralyzed trade, v:92
QUINCY, JOSIAH, JR., Hutchinson riot over the Stamp act, iii:72
QUINTANA, MANUEL JOSÉ, Balboa's discovery of the Pacific Ocean, i:211

R

RAILROAD, first transcontinental, ix:87; strikes of 1886, ix:274; of 1894, x:54
RAILROADS (*see also Railroads by name*): abuses and combinations cause social discontent, ix:280; and the Interstate commerce act, ix:282; difference between English and American, vi:66; first cars horse-drawn, vi:66; first railroad to the Mississippi, vii:240; for American Expeditionary Force, xii:56
RALEIGH, SIR WALTER, ii:47n; charter for colonization of America, ii:47; report on first voyage to Roanoke, 1584, ii:47; report on Roanoke colony, 1586, ii:57
RANDOLPH, JOHN, character and achievements, v:270; our first protective tariff, v:270
RANDOLPH, PEYTON, appointed chairman of first Continental congress, iii:107
RATES, railway, and the Interstate commerce commission, ix:282
RATHBONE, MAJ., wounded by Booth, viii:316
RAW MATERIALS and the Wilson Tariff bill, x:45
RED JACKET (Indian chief), v:66n; Indian defends his religion, v:66
REFUGEES, consideration of, in Treaty of Paris, iv:45
RELIGION of the Indians, v:66
RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE in New England, ii:195
REPRESENTATION in Grand Council, iii:40
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, first, vii:218; Lincoln-Seward contest, vii:279
REPUBLICAN PARTY, birth and rise of, vii:202, 211; victories of 1854-55, vii:203
RESERVATIONS of the United States to the peace treaty, *text,* xii:214
RESERVE FUND, condition of, during the Cleveland administration, x:101
RESUMPTION ACT OF 1875, effects of, ix:221
REUTER, REAR-ADM., protest against striking German flag, xii:185
REVENUE, increase urged by President McKinley, x:101; reduction through McKinley tariff bill, ix:304
REVERE, PAUL, tells of his midnight ride; *deposition of* 1775, iii:141
REVOLUTION, AMERICAN, (*See also names of battles, i.e: Boston; Bunker Hill; Camden; Charles-*

*ton; Concord; Lexington; Long Island; Philadelphia; Princeton; Saratoga; Stony Point; Ticonderoga; Trenton; White Plains*): appointments of officers by Congress, iii:133; Arnold's treason, iii:282, 284; beginning of hostilities, iii:119; bore the appearance of a civil war, iii:234; British fleet enters Chesapeake bay, iii:231; campaign in New Jersey, iii:200; campaign in the south, iii:295; courage of American soldiers, iii:140; enlistments of troops, criticized by Washington, iii:201; inevitability of (Patrick Henry's speech), iii:117, lack of military supplies, iii:132; Lafayette's assistance, iii:217, 222; medical treatment of the sick, iii:240; naval episodes, iii:273; Patrick Henry's warning against conciliation, iii:254; resignation of officers, iii:241; last days of, iii:295; surrender of Cornwallis, iii:301, 307; Washington resigns his commission, iii:310; Washington's farewell to his army, iii:314

RHETT, R. B., vii:287n; threats of secession, vii:287

RHINELAND, occupation of, by the Allies, xii:193

RHODE ISLAND, blockade of, iii:300; Dorr's rebellion, vi:273; extension of suffrage procured, vi:273

RHODES, JAMES FORD, ix:69n; Ulysses S. Grant, eighteenth president, ix:69

RIBAUT, JEAN, voyage to Florida, ii:12; return, ii:28

RICHMOND, VA., destruction by fire, viii:277; evacuation by Confederate government, viii:271; objective in Peninsular campaign, viii:117

RICKENBACKER, MAJ. EDWARD (EDDIE) VERNON, xii:151n; Airplane duels, xii:151

RIEDESEL, FREDERIKA CHARLOTTE LOUISE, Baroness von, Defeat and surrender of Burgoyne, iii:211

RIEDESEL, GEN. FRIEDRICH A. baron von, iii:211

RIFLE, SPRINGFIELD, invention of, iv:196

RIO DE LA PLATA, explored by Sebastian Cabot, i:204

RIOTS, at the Haymarket, Chicago, ix:274

ROAD MAKING in Meuse-Argonne battle, xii:134

ROANOKE, VIRGINIA, first voyage to, ii:47; is colonized, ii:57; White's colonists arrive, ii:67

ROBERTS, BRIGHAM H., biographical note, vii:106n; Mormon exodus to Utah, vii:106

ROCHAMBEAU, JEAN BAPTISTE, Count de, assistance praised by Washington, iii:308

ROCKY MOUNTAINS, crossing of the Lewis and Clark expedition, v:50

ROME, NEW YORK, ground broken for Erie canal, vi:17

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE, Battle of San Juan Hill, x:130; letter to Grey warning England, xi:234; on policies of a vice president who succeeds to the presidency, x:216; opinion about the war, xi:234; about Wilson, xi:238; purchase of the Panama canal, x:237; succeeds McKinley, x:215

ROOT, ELIHU, on limitation of armaments, xii:230, 235

ROSS, SIR RONALD, aids in ridding Panama Canal zone of malaria, x:265

ROUGH RIDERS at San Juan Hill, x:130; at Santiago, x:140

ROUMANIA, Austria's attitude toward, 1914, xi:14

ROYCE, JOSIAH, ii:314n; Spanish settle in California, ii:314

RUHR, French army in the, Dawes plan, xii:258

RURAL CREDITS ACT, x:317

RUSH-BAGOT AGREEMENT covering Great Lakes naval forces, v:274

RUSH OF SETTLERS on opening of Oklahoma lands, x:22

RUSSELL, WILLIAM HOWARD, Bull Run as seen through critical English eyes, viii:72

RUSSIA, agreement with United States and Great Britain on dividing the American Northwest, vii:23; friendship toward the United States, ix:35; lease of Chinese territory not to affect American treaty rights, x:165; limitation of armaments as subject for discussion at the Hague, xii:230; mobilization, xi:39; pol-

icies in the Balkans, xi:17; sale of Alaska, ix:31, 38
Russian Army, capture of Przemysl, xi:254; defeat in Galicia, xi:269; hurled back on the Dunajec, xi:269
Russian "sphere of interest" in China, x:167
*Russian America, see Alaska*
Russian American Company and the Northwest fur trade, iv:159; governed Alaska prior to its purchase, ix:40
Rutledge, Edward, as a speaker, iii:113, 114
Rutledge, John, as a speaker, iii:113

S

Sacajawea (Bird woman), guide and aide of Lewis and Clarke expedition, v:38, 51, 56
Sackville, Fort, surrender of, iii:265
Saible, Jean Baptiste Point de, first settler in Chicago, vi:174
St. Angel, Luis de, i:127
Saint Augustine, founding of, ii:30; harbor entered by French, ii:17
Saint-Clair, Gen. Arthur, abandons Ticonderoga, iii:229
St. Gervais church damaged during bombardment of Paris, xii:67
St. Joseph, Missouri, rendezvous of the *Forty-niners*, vii:122
St. Lawrence River discovered by Cartier, i:239
St. Louis, Missouri, strikes and labor disturbances of 1886, ix:275
*St. Louis Observer,* (weekly paper), vi:240
*St. Mary* (vessel), i:134
St. Mihiel, Germans fail to capture, xi:187; salient, capture by Americans, xii:117; salient, position and importance of, xii:118, 123
Saint-Pierre, Jacques Lagardeur de, iii:28
Salamanca, i:109
Salandra, Antonia, Italy joins the Allies, xi:284
Salem, Massachusetts, settlement, ii:129; witchcraft, ii:280
Salt Lake City, Utah, Mormon arrival at site of, vii:112
Samoan Islands, threatened conflict over, between United States and Germany, ix:293
Sampson, Adm. William Thomas, capture of Cervera and the Spanish fleet, x:134
San Antonio, Texas, in 1836, vi:201
San Francisco, California, earthquake and fire, x:249
Sanitation, in Panama Canal zone, x:264
San Jacinto, battle of, preparations, vi:219
*San Jacinto* (frigate) seizes two Confederate commissioners on the *Trent,* viii:79
San Juan Hill, battle of, x:130
San Miguel, Gulf of, discovered, i:225
San Salvador, discovery of, i:154
Santa Ana, Antonio Lopez de, opening of his campaign in Texas, vi:200, 205; siege of the Alamo, vi:205
Santangel, Luis de, letter to, from Columbus, i:159
Santa Ysabel Massacre, in Mexico, xii:17
Santiago, Cuba, capture of, x:134
Saratoga, battle of, iii:211
Sausaman, John, ii:213
Scheer, Adm. Reinhold von, commands German High Sea Fleet off Jutland, xi:306
Schley, Gov. William, report of, on the Creek war, vi:227
Schley, Commodore Winfield Scott, capture of Cervera and the Spanish fleet, x:134
Schouler, James, Secession threatened in New England, v:228
Schuyler, Gen. Philip John, kindness to the Baroness von Riedesel, iii:215
Schweiger, Lt., the sinking of the Lusitania, xi:264
Scott, Gen. Winfield, vii:89n; Battles of Chippewa and Lunday's Lane, v:190; capture of Chapultepec and Mexico City, vii:89; issues statement in regard to *Trent* affair, viii:86
*Scrap of Paper,* official report on German utterances, xi:77
Screw-Propeller Experiments of the Wright brothers, x:195

SEAL FISHERIES, controversy with Great Britain, ix:309
SEALS used by signers of Treaty of Versailles, xii:208
SEAMEN on American ships, impressment of, v:118, 120, 130
SEARCH for deserters on board the Chesapeake, v:78; of American ships for British seamen, v:118, 120, 130
*Seattle* (airplane), wrecked in Alaska, xii:250
SECESSION, (*see also Union, Preservation of*): as a constitutional right, viii:46; Lincoln denies right of in his first inaugural, viii:25; right of states to secede, vii:304, 312; secession and nullification defined, vii:305; threatened in New England, v:228; threatened by the South, vii:287
SEDAN, capture of, by American and French forces, xii:139
SEGUIN, COL. JUAN N., in the Alamo, vi:200, 204, 206
SELF GOVERNMENT of American states, x:69
SEMINOLE WARS, v:277; vi:255; Calhoun's criticism of Gen. Jackson's conduct of, vi:71
SEMMES, RAPHAEL, sinking of the *Alabama*, viii:229
SENECAS (INDIANS) (*see also Red Jacket*): religion, v:66
SÉRAJEVO assassination, xi:13
*Serapis* (British man-of-war), capture of, iii:273
SERBIA, Austria's attitude toward, 1914, xi:14
SERVANTS AND SLAVES in the colonies, ii:309
SETTLEMENT OF NEW COLONIES, Franklin's plan of union, iii:47
SETTLEMENTS, how planted, iv:77
*Seven Days* (Civil war), viii:128
SEWALL, HAROLD M., opposition to Germany in Samoan Islands, ix:294
SEWARD, WILLIAM H., biographical note, vi:13; building the Erie canal, vi:13; characteristics, viii:37; contest for nomination, vii:279; imperialistic ideas, ix:38; meets Confederate commission to confer upon peace terms, viii:267; political enmity toward Van Buren, vi:263; purchase of Alaska, ix:38; reasons against the Emancipation proclamation, viii:161; reelected governor of New York, 1840, vi:271
SHAFTER, GEN. WILLIAM RUFUS, capture of Santiago, x:136
SHAFTESBURY, ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, First earl of, Carolina constitutions, ii:181
*Shannon* and *Chesapeake* engagement, v:166
SHAYS' REBELLION, iv:106
SHELBURNE, WILLIAM, Earl of, (later Lord Lansdowne), Treaty of Paris negotiations, iv:48
*Shenandoah* (man-of-war), Britain's responsibility for damage by, ix:121
SHERIDAN, GEN. PHILIP HENRY, rallies disorganized troops, viii:236; ride from Winchester, viii:234; truce with Gen. Gordon at Appomattox, viii:284
SHERMAN, JOHN, Hawaiian treaty, *text*, x:107; Uncle Sam resumes specie payments, ix:221
SHERMAN, JUDGE ROGER, iii:113, 114
SHERMAN, GEN. WILLIAM TECUMSEH, march to the sea, viii:242
SHILOH, battle of, viii:103
*Shin plasters*, vi:254
SHINGISS, king of the Delawares, iii:13, 23
SHIPLEY, THOMAS, delegate to first Anti-slavery convention, vi:161
SHIPPING, AMERICAN, Roosevelt warns against interference with, xi:238; Wilson warns Germany about, xi:250, 266
SHIPS, foreign, aid in transporting American troops overseas, xii:47; German, sunk at Antwerp, xi:210; Lloyd George on need of, xii:38; to be scrapped under armaments treaty, xii:234
SHIPWRECKED Americans intimidated by German submarine, xii:86
SHIRREFF, PATRICK, description of Chicago as a growing village, vi:174
SIBERT, MAJ.-GEN. WILLIAM L., commands first division to go overseas, xii:45
SIGSBEE, CAPT. CHARLES DWIGHT, at destruction of the *Maine*, x:112
SILVER, free, Bryan's defense of, x:86; parity of, under Gold-standard act, x:179

SITTING BULL (Indian chief), insurrection of Indians in the Yellowstone region, 1876, ix:195
"16 TO 1" emblems in Bryan presidential campaign, x:94
SKRELLINGS, i:49
SLAVE-BREAKING in the South, vi:149
SLAVERY (*see also Slaves*): agreement in Treaty of Ghent, *text,* v:262; and the Missouri compromise, v:305, 309, 313; annexation of Texas urged to strengthen slaveholding interests, vi:231; article in the Northwest ordinance, iv:140; as seen by Henry Clay, vii:146; contests between North and South, vii:81, 131, 151, 199, 205, 211, 221, 229, 258, 287, 304; *Dred Scott decision,* vii:204, 229, 259; effects of, in 1811, v:100; fostered by Kansas-Nebraska bill, vii:199, 259; fugitive slave law, Lincoln on, viii:23; fugitive slave law proposals, vii:145; fugitive slaves in Ohio, vii:157; Garrison's efforts to abolish, vi:91; in territories acquired from Mexico, vii:81, 131, 151, 199, 205; in the District of Columbia, vii:142; Lincoln's comments on, in first inaugural, viii:22; Lincoln's view, vii:258; measures in Clay's *Compromise of 1850,* vii:131, 205; pioneering against, vi:91; Professor Dew's argument upholding, vi:95; the *underground railroad,* vii:157; warfare in Kansas, on issue of, vii:221; Webster's view of, vii:151; Whittier's first venture in authorship, on the evils of, vi:158
SLAVES (*see also Slavery*): and servants in the colonies, ii:309; as property, vii:204, 229, 308; citizenship of, vii:229, 308; John Brown's plans for insurrection of, vii:268, 269; Lincoln willing to remunerate South for, viii:269; loyalty, vi:99
SLAVS in southern Europe, xi:14
SLIDELL, JOHN, commissioner to England from the Confederacy, viii:80; mission to Mexico, 1845, vii:68
SLOAT, COMMODORE JOHN DRAKE, taking of Monterey, vii:49
SMITH, GEN. CHARLES FERGUSON, leads charge against Fort Donelson, viii:89
SMITH, DEAF, vi:225
SMITH, CAPT. JOHN, biographical note, ii:69n; settlement of Jamestown, ii:69; treatment by Jamestown colonists, ii:73, 80
SMITH, JOSHUA H., share in Arnold treason, iii:284
SMITH, LOWELL H., First world flight, xii:250
SMITH, THEODORE CLARKE, Assassination of Garfield, ix:242
SMITH, WILLIAM PRESCOTT, First railroad to the Mississippi, vii:240
SNORRI, birth of, i:50
SOCIAL COMPACT, defined by Calhoun, vi:169
SOISSONS, FRANCE, location and importance of, xii:109; victories of American and French troops in Foch's counter-attacks upon, xii:97
SOPHIE, duchess of Hohenberg, assassination of, xi:13
SOUTH AMERICAN COLONIES and Spain (Monroe's doctrines), v:288; policy of James G. Blaine, ix:237; republics and the Monroe doctrine, x:66
SOUTH CAROLINA, carpet-bag and negro government, ix:152; financial corruption, ix:154; *Force bill* to enforce the collection of import duties, vi:167; threats of secession, vii:287
SOUTH CAROLINA CIRCUIT COURT on the Ku-Klux Klan, ix:110
SOUTHERN STATES, right to prohibit circulation of insurrectionary literature, vi:192
SOVEREIGNTY (*see also State rights*): vi:59, 167, 193; viii:22
SPAIN and the South American colonies (Monroe's doctrines), v:288; conquest of the Moors, i:124; transfer of Louisiana and the Floridas to France, iv:287, 294
SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES (*see also Spanish-American War*): difficulties leading to Cuban intervention proposal, ix:167
SPANISH conquered by Dominique de Gourgues, ii:43; conquest of French colonies in Florida, ii:30;

discoveries and explorations, i: 59-283; settle in California, ii: 314; take possession of Florida, ii:35
SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, act authorizing war, *text,* x:121; battle of Manila Bay, x:125; battle of San Juan Hill, x:130; capture of Cervera and the Spanish fleet, x:134; capture of Santiago, x: 134; destruction of the Maine, x: 112; message of President McKinley asking power to act, x: 120; outbreak of war, x:119; peace negotiations, ultimatum, *text,* x:156
SPANISH-CALIFORNIAN LIFE in the forties, vii:52
SPARKS, JARED, Washington's farewell address, iv:209
SPECIE payments of United States, ix:221; payments stopped by banks, 1837, vi:250; premium on, panic of 1893, x:35; of 1907, x: 261
SPEE, ADM. MAXIMILIAN, graf von, Sea fight off Coronel, Chile, xi: 220
SPIES, German, in England, xi:62
SPOILS SYSTEM, vi:49; ix:231
SPRINGFIELD RIFLE, invention of, iv: 196
*Squatter sovereignty,* vii:260
STAGE COACH described by Fanny Kemble, vi:105
STAKING CLAIMS on Cherokee lands, 1893, x:22
STAMP ACT, iii:72; Pitt's protest against, iii:77; repeal of, iii:82
STANTON, EDWIN M., characteristics, viii:38; his appointment chief cause of impeachment articles against President Johnson, ix:48, 58
STANWOOD, EDWARD, Hayes-Tilden presidential contest, ix:185; Presidential campaign of 1888 (Harrison-Cleveland), ix:287
*Star Spangled Banner,* v:223
STATES RIGHTS, vi:59, 167, 193; Lincoln's comments on, in first inaugural, viii:22
STEAM BOAT, first, on the Hudson, v:86
STEAM ENGINE, first in America, perfected by Peter Cooper, vi: 66
STEPHENS, ALEXANDER H., First battle of Bull Run, viii:63, Hampton Roads conference, viii:267
STEUBEN, Baron, trains and reorganizes American army at Valley Forge, iii:235
STEVENS, on engineering and administrative problems of Panama canal building, x:264
STEVENS, THADDEUS, ix:63n; on the Fourteenth amendment, ix:63
STOCK EXCHANGE closed, panic of 1873, ix:165
STOECKL, negotiations leading to purchase of Alaska, ix:38
STONY POINT, captured by General Wayne, iii:267
*Strict accountability* note of Wilson to Germany, *text,* xi:250
STRIKES and labor disturbances of 1886, ix:274; enjoining power of the courts in case of, x:62; of railway and Pullman employees, Chicago, 1894, x:54
STURDEE, VICE-ADM. SIR F. C. DOVETON-, Battle of the Falklands, xi:225
STURGIS, CAPT. WILLIAM, biographical note, iv:151n; Northwest fur trade, iv:151
STUYVESANT, PETER, defense and surrender of New Amsterdam, ii:188
SUBMARINE TELEGRAPHY, viii:253; ix:21
SUBMARINE WARFARE, German; in Wilson's message to Congress, xii:25; imperils cause of the Allies, xii:52; destroys British warships, xi:202
SUBMARINES, GERMAN, surrendered to the British after the armistice, xii:186
SUGAR and the Wilson Tariff bill, x:47
SULPHURIC ETHER VAPOR, experiments with, vii:64
SUMMERALL, GEN. CHARLES P., made Division commander on eve of Foch's counter-attack, xii:98; orders capture of Berzy-le-Sec; xii:115
SUMNER, CHARLES, character and political aims, ix:55; why the United States wanted Alaska, ix: 31
SUMNER, GEN. EDWIN VOSE, in battle of Fredericksburg, viii:156

SUMTER, FORT, siege and capture, viii:50; surrender reported by Gen. Beauregard, viii:58
SUN at the North pole, x:284
"SUNDAY COURT" in Panama, x: 274
SUPREME COURT, decisions of; Lincoln's first inaugural, viii:30; delegated powers, vi:171
SURGICAL ANESTHESIA, discovery of, vii:63
SURRATT, JOHN H., viii:309
SURRATT, MRS. MARY E., viii:309, 312
SUTTER, JOHN AUGUSTUS, gold found on land of, vii:114
SWEDEN, American colonies and trade companies, ii:160; missionary activities of King, ii:161
SWEDES in Pennsylvania, ii:239
SWETT, LEONARD, aids Lincoln's campaign, vii:292
SWINTON, GEN. EDWARD D., on his book, xi:193n; Trench warfare begins on the Aisne, xi:193
*Sydney* (Australian man-of-war), destruction of the *Emden* by, xi: 128, 130

## T

TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD, CHARLES MAURICE, duke de, refuses to receive American envoys and demands bribes, iv:204
TANEY, CHIEF JUSTICE ROGER BROOKE, vii:229n; appointed Secretary of the Treasury, vi:111; description, viii:20; Dred Scott decision, vii:229
TAPPAN, LEWIS, presides over anti-slavery meeting, vi:159
TARIFF, John Randolph's views, v: 270; McKinley bill, ix:304; on imports of early California, vii: 54; revision urged by McKinley, x:100; South Carolina, *Force bill,* vi:167; taxation on imports opposed by states, iv:28; to apply to merchandise shipped from China to Russian *sphere of interest,* x:167; Wilson bill, x:45
TAXATION (*see also Tariff*): by consent of the taxed, iii:40; government revenues from 1917, 1919, 1920, xii:238; income tax provisions of Wilson Tariff bill, x:48; war taxes suggested in Wilson's message to Congress, xii:30
*Taxicab army* that saved Paris, xi: 175
TAYLOR, ZACHARY, in command in Texas, vii:73, 75
TEA, tax on, iii:96
TECUMSEH, (Indian chief), battle of Tippecanoe, v:105; character and achievements, v:184; death at battle of Thames, v:184; speech to General Proctor before battle of the Thames, v:187
TELEGRAPH BILL, passage of, vi: 306; efforts of Bell to perfect the *Harmonic telegraph,* ix:209; instrument, described by S. F. B. Morse, vi:308; invention by S. F. B. Morse, vi:305
TELEGRAPH CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE COMPANY, organized to finance Atlantic cable, ix:23
TELEGRAPHY, submarine, vii:253; ix:21
TELEPHONE, first, exhibited at Centennial exposition, ix:219; invention of, ix:207
TEMPERANCE PARTY, vii:214
TEMPERATURE at the North pole, x:280, 284
TERRITORIES, Paine on formation and government of, iv:22
TEXAS, boundary, vii:71, 76, 137; correspondence between Texan ministers, vi:314; claims to portion of New Mexico, vii:138; government of the Republic, vi: 219; independence declared, vi: 216, 219; independence of, unknown to defenders of Alamo, vi: 215; military forces sent to protect, vii:71, 75; provisional government, vi:203; public debt, provisions for, vii:137; slavery and free soil considerations, vii:81, 134, 151
TEXAS, (annexation), Calhoun's aid, vi:167; Channing's opposition, vi:231; necessary for protection of the Union against Great Britain, vi:286; how annexed, vi:313
THAMES, battle of, v:181
THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION of President Wilson, 1918, *text,* xii: 182

THOMAS, GEN., estimate by Washington, iii:134
THOMAS, GEN. GEORGE H., defeats Hood at Nashville, viii:249; Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, viii:214; Battle of Chickamauga, viii:202
THOMAS, CAPT. SHIPLEY, Foch launches his great counter-attack, xii:97; War in the air, xii:147
THOMSON, CHARLES, appointed secretary of first Continental congress, iii:107
THORSTEIN, voyage to Vinland, i:46
THORVALD, voyage to Vinland, i:43
THURSTON, DAVID, a delegate to the first Anti-slavery convention, 1833, vi:158, 166
THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD, *Lewis and Clarke expedition,* v:38
TICONDEROGA, capture of (1775), iii:147
TILDEN, SAMUEL J., Hayes-Tilden presidential contest, ix:185
TIN PLATE and the McKinley Tariff bill, ix:308
TIPPECANOE, battle of, v:105
TISZA, COUNT STEPHEN, murder of, xi:13
TOOMBS, ROBERT, Secession as a constitutional right, viii:46
TORTUGAS named, i:219
TRADE conditions in Europe in case of war, Grey's speech of August 3, 1914; xi:95; effect of embargo of 1807, v:92
TRANSPORT FLEETS move troops and supplies overseas, xii:44
TRANSPORTATION by boat and stage described by Fanny Kemble, vi:104; opening of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad, vii:241
TRANSPORTS, American, destroyed by German submarines, xii:84; listed for destruction, xii:87
TRAVELERS, trans-Atlantic, warning of Germany, xi:261
TRAVIS, LT.-COL. WILLIAM BARRETT, assigned to command of San Antonio, vi:203; in the siege of the Alamo, vi:209; killed, vi:212; last letter, vi:217
TREATIES, Hawaiian, with foreign nations, x:109
TREATY annexing Hawaii, *text,* x:107; first, between Japan and the United States, *text,* vii:194; negotiations of Perry, vii:171; Hay-Pauncefote, 1901, *text,* x:218; of Ghent, v:252, 263; of Locarno, signers, xii:269; of Paris, explained, iv:43; negotiations, iv:48; of Versailles, signing of, xii:205; United States reservations, *text,* xii:214; of Washington, covering *Alabama* claims, ix:115; Webster-Ashburton, vi:281; treaty making powers of the United States questioned, iv:91
TRENCH WARFARE, begins, xi:193; description of, xi:197
*Trent affair,* viii:79
TRENTON, battle of, iii:206
TRIPLE ALLIANCE, policies, xi:14
TRIPOLI AND THE UNITED STATES, Decatur's capture of the *Philadelphia,* v:17
TRIST, NICHOLAS P., obstacles to negotiating for peace with Mexico, vii:100
TROOPS end Chicago strikes, 1894, x:59
TRUST COMPANY OF AMERICA, difficulties during panic of 1907, x:257
TUDOR, JOHN, Eye-witness describes the Boston massacre, iii:85
TUMULTY, JOSEPH P., Wilson nominated for the presidency, 1912, x:289
TURKEY, battleships of, requisitioned by British navy, xi:60; position in Balkan politics, xi:18
TURKISH ARMY at Gallipoli, xi:275
TURKISH NAVY, ships requisitioned by Great Britain, xi:60
TURKS, defeat by Decatur, v:17
TWEED, WILLIAM MARCY, activities of Boss Tweed and his ring, ix:97
TWINE, JAMES, first representative Assembly, ii:90
TYLER, JOHN, drawn into signing the Webster-Ashburton treaty, vi:286; nominated Vice-President, vi:266; passes resolution for the admission of Texas into the Union, vi:317
TYRKER, i:40

U

*Underground railroad,* vii:157
UNEMPLOYMENT at the close of the European war, xii:239

UNICORNS, i:92
UNIFORMS, gray, adopted at West Point in honor of Chippewa victory, v:190n; of German army, xi:140
UNION, Franklin's plan, iii:38; Madison's view of the powers vested in, iv:312; preservation of, through sectional equilibrium, vii:199; Webster's defense of the Federal Union, vi:64; Webster's warning against secession, vii:151
UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY and Buffalo Bill, ix:43; building and completion of, ix:87
UNITED STATES, and the Monroe doctrine, x:66; cedes strip of Maine to Canada, vi:284; conditions deplored by Washington, 1786, iv:100; customs and ways of life, 1811, v:96; division of opinion over War of 1812, v:126; economic conditions after the European war, xii:239; economic conditions stated by Franklin, 1784, iv:68; financial aid for Great Britain asked, xii:49; future and power of, iv:11; government, iv:61, 68; compels creditors to accept bank notes, vi:253; in 1842; Dickens visit described in his letters, vi:291; mobilization, Pershing's report on, xii:54; mobilizing and recruiting for Spanish-American war, x:123; power to erect corporations, vi:121; public land problem, iv:18; refuses to accept bank notes from debtors, vi:252; welcomed into European war by Lloyd George, xii:35; Wilson's notes of warning to Germany, 1915, texts, xi:250, 266
UNITED STATES ARMY (see also *Aviation*): disbanding of Federal army, viii:301: Grant recommends after-war protection for Southern states, ix:17; invades Mexico to end bandit warfare upon Americans, xii:18; war plans suggested in Wilson's message to Congress, xii:30; Wilson's proclamation calling the nation to arms and outlining conscription measures, *text,* xii:39
UNITED STATES ARMY, *American Expeditionary Force,* is transported overseas, xii:44; proves offensive fighting qualities, xii:94, 117n, 126; Château-Thierry victories, xii:90; discipline and service of men and officers, xii:132; first army organized, xii:118; at St. Mihiel, xii:117; first independent American attack, Cantigny, France, xii:81; French honor 4th brigade of 2d division, xii:92; last drive to Sedan, xii:139; losses in victorious offensive of July, 1918, xii: 113, 114; Pershing offers entire American force to Foch, xii:72; insists upon a distinct American army, xii:120; eulogizes 38th regiment of 3d division, xii:95; refuses suggestion to amalgamate troops with those of Allies, xii:59; Second army in battle of the Meuse-Argonne, xii:131; Second corps leads in breaking the Hindenburg line, xii:127; troops in France, disposition of, March 1918, xii:81; July 1918, xii:93; victories of 1st and 2d divisions in Foch's counter-attack of July, 1918, xii:97; with French, halts last offensive on the Marne, xii:93
UNITED STATES NAVY (*see also Battles, Naval*): haste in providing destroyers urged, xii:52; increased for Spanish-American war, x:123; transport fleet convoys troops and supplies overseas, xii:44
UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT aids banks during panic of 1907, x:258; attitude during panic of 1873, ix:165; during free silver agitation, x:101; redemption of bonds under Gold-standard act, x:179; specie payments under Resumption act, ix:221; strain on redemption fund, panic of 1893, x:28
UNITED STATES WARS, *see Civil War, European War, French and Indian War, Indian Wars, Mexican War, Revolution, Spanish-American War, War of 1812, War with Tripoli*
UNITED STATES AND FRANCE, difficulties leading to war of 1798, iv:204
UNITED STATES AND GERMANY, offer of a loan to pay German debts,

xii:258; threatened conflict over Samoan Islands, ix:293; Wilson's address to Congress, xii:25; declaration of war, *text,* xii:34
UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN, Behring Sea troubles over seal fisheries, ix:309; British payments to the United States, xii:259; menace of England's gaining control of the Gulf of Mexico, vi:285; Oregon boundary dispute, vii:13; Venezuela boundary affair, x:64; Webster-Ashburton treaty, vi:281
UNITED STATES and GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA, agreement on dividing the American Northwest, vii:23
UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, first treaty, *text,* vii:194; treaty negotiations of Perry, vii:171
UNITED STATES AND MEXICO, German plan to embroil the two countries in war, xii:23; war threatened, 1916, xii:13
UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA AND GREAT BRITAIN, agreement on dividing the American Northwest, vii:23
UNITED STATES AND SPAIN (*see also Spanish-American War*): difficulties leading to Cuban intervention proposal, ix:167
UPTON, J. K., effect of resuming specie payments, ix:222
USSELINX, WILLIAM, founding of West India Trading company, ii:162
UTAH, Mormon exodus to, vii:106
UTRECHT, line of, verified and explained, vii:29

## V

VACUUM APPARATUS, Edison's experiments with, x:228
VALDIVIA brings provisions to Balboa, i:221
VALLEY FORGE, hardships, iii:235; Washington at, iii:235
VANBRAAM, JACOB, iii:11, 34
VAN BUREN, MARTIN, campaign for reëlection, vi:263
VANCOUVER, GEORGE, explorations along Pacific coast, iv:180
VANDERBILTS, financial activities in *Black Friday* panic, ix:76
VENEZUELA AND BRITISH GUIANA, boundary question, x:64
VERAGUA, gold in, i:206
VERDUN, battle of, xi:290
VERGENNES, CHARLES GRAVIER, count de, treaty of Paris negotiations, iv:47, 53
VERRAZZANO, JOHN DE, description of the Indians, i:232; voyage to America, i:226
VERSAILLES TREATY, ceremonies at signing of, xii:205
VESPUCIUS, AMERICUS, his account of his first voyage, i:186; America named for, i:216
VICKSBURG, siege of, viii:195; situation of, viii:197
VIERZY, FRANCE, capture of, xii:109
VILLA, PANCHO, bandit warfare in Mexico, xii:16
VINCENNES, capture of, iii:257
VINLAND, i:26, 41, 48
VIRGINIA, Bacon's rebellion, ii:223; coast explored and claimed for Raleigh, ii:48; description of, 1584, ii:57; difficulty of enlistment, ii:255; first representative Assembly, ii:90; land claims to Northwest territory, iv:18; laws passed by first Assembly, *text,* ii:94; natural resources, ii:48, 60
VIRGINIA COMPANY, iii:11
*Virginius* (vessel) affair adjusted by Spain, ix:167
VOTING, method of, in first Continental Congress, iii:107

## W

WADE, NATHANIEL, letter from Washington on Arnold's treason, iii:282
WAINWRIGHT, LT.-COM. RICHARD, aids in defeating Spanish fleet, x:151
*Wakarusa* war in Kansas, vii:221
WALDO, ALBIGENCE, Washington at Valley Forge, iii:235
WALKER, ALDACE FREEMAN, ix:282n; Interstate commerce commission, ix:282
WALKER, JUDSON ELLIOTT, Custer's last stand, ix:195
WALLACE, GEN. LEWIS, in capture of Fort Donelson, viii:92
WALLACE, GEN. W. H. L., mortally wounded in battle of Shiloh, viii:106

WALSH, HUNT, at battle of Quebec, iii:67
WALTZEE-MÜLLER, MARTIN, first use of name America, i:216
WAR CORRESPONDENTS, treatment of, by Germans and Allies contrasted, xi:237
WAR, GUERILLA, in Kansas, vii:221
WAR LOANS of Great Britain and the United States, xii:49n
WAR OF 1812, attack on defenses of Baltimore, v:223; battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, v:190; battle of Lake Champlain, v:212; battle of Lake Erie, v:169, 176; battle of New Orleans, v:242, 246; battle of the Thames, v:181; capture and burning of Washington, v:206, 209; capture and destruction of the *Java,* v:160; causes for, by Henry Clay, v:129; by James Madison, v:116; by John Quincy Adams, v:120; *Constitution* captures the *Guerriere,* v:154, 157; difficulties with New England states, v:228; engagement of *Chesapeake* and *Shannon,* v:166; surrender of Detroit, v:135, 145; Treaty of Ghent, v:252, 263
WAR WITH TRIPOLI, Decatur's capture of the *Philadelphia,* v:17
WARD, CAPT., in the Alamo, vi:208
WARREN, DR. JOSEPH, death at battle of Bunker Hill, iii:138; sends Paul Revere to Lexington, iii:141
*Wars-Indian, see Indians*
WASHINGTON, AUGUSTINE, letter from George Washington (Dec. 1776), iii:200
WASHINGTON, GEORGE, appointed commander-in-chief, iii:125; Arnold's treason, iii:282; at Mount Vernon, iv:234; at Valley Forge, iii:235; battles of Trenton and Princeton, iii:206; bids his army farewell, iii:314; Braddock's defeat (letter to his mother), iii:51; character, appearance, etc., iv:234, 250, 262; death of, and national tributes, iv:245; discouraged appeals to Congress, iii:200; expedition to the Ohio, iii:11; farewell address, iv:209; farewell to Mrs. Washington, iii:127; friendship with Lafayette, iii:231, 245; funeral oration of Gen. Lee, iv:253; inaugural address, iv:167; Jefferson's estimate of, iv:262; Journals, extract, iii:11; letter to Lafayette on the Conway affair, iii:249; letter to the President of Congress on his arrival at Cambridge, iii:130; monument to, approved and opposed, iv:248, 249; portrait, v:206; prevents outbreak in army, iv:31; Report of the Yorktown surrender, iii:307; resigns his commission, iii:310; seen as first president by Maclay, iv:163; sent to order French out of Ohio, iii:11; siege and capture of Boston, iii:158; skillful generalship commented on by an army surgeon, iii:241; speech of acceptance on being appointed commander-in-chief, iii:124; takes command of army, iii:30; Wayne surprises and storms Stony Point, iii:267; weathering a crisis, iv:100
WASHINGTON, MARTHA DANDRIDGE CUSTIS, iii:127
WASHINGTON, MARY, Letter from Gen. Washington on Braddock's defeat, iii:51
WASHINGTON, D. C., capture and burning of, v:206, 209; Dickens' visit, vi:300; in its infancy, v:13; necessity for protecting from Confederate troops, viii:122
WASHINGTON (TERRITORY), Legislature, petition requesting harbor concessions in Alaska, ix:31, 39
WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS, xii:227
WASHINGTON, TREATY OF, covering *Alabama* claims, ix:115
WASSENAER, NICHOLAS JEAN DE, Founding of New Amsterdam, ii:121
WATER, Indian worship of, i:270
WATSON, THOMAS A., Coming of the telephone, ix:207
WAYNE, GEN. ANTHONY, campaign against Ohio Indians, iv:197; letter to Washington on the capture of Stony Point, iii:269; surprises and storms Stony Point, iii:267
*We the People* (paper), Col. M'Kenney accused of promoting, vi:51
WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY, vi:281

WEBSTER, DANIEL, biographical note, vii:151; impression of Jefferson, iv:279; reply to Hayne 1830, *text,* vi:59; threat of civil war, vii:151
WEDDIGEN, LT. OTTO, biographical note, xi:202; first submarine blow is struck, xi:202
WEED, THURLOW, vii:292n; account of Lafayette's second visit to America, vi:25; Lincoln making his cabinet, vii:292; political influence, vi:25
WELLES, GIDEON, characteristics, viii:39; considered for cabinet, vii:296
WEMYSS, R. E., Armistice signed for England, *text,* xii:166
WEST INDIA COMPANY, colonies in New York, ii:121
WEST INDIA TRADING COMPANY of Sweden, ii:162
WEST INDIES, Columbus' description of, i:159; discovery of Cabots, i:202; map of Sebastian Cabot, i:201
WEST POINT, reception of Lafayette, vi:28
WHEAT PRICES advanced by Erie canal, vi:21
WHIG NATIONAL CONVENTION, Harrisburg, Pa., 1839, vi:264
WHIGS, attitude toward repeal of Missouri compromise, vii:212; form Republican party with Free-Soilers, vii:216; refusal to disband, vii:216
WHIMSETT, G. C., Loss of the *President Lincoln,* xii:84
WHITE, HORACE, biographical note, ix:126n; Chicago fire, ix:126
WHITE, JOHN, Birth of Virginia Dare, ii:67
WHITE, PEREGRINE, birth of, ii:115
WHITE, SUSANNAH, marriage to Edward Winslow, ii:115
WHITE PLAINS, battle of, iii:193
WHITE'S COLONY, disappearance, ii:67
WHITLOCK, BRAND, biographical note, xi:101; entrusted with representation of warring nations, xi:101, 108; King Albert goes to Parliament, xi:101
WHITMAN, MARCUS, founds Presbyterian mission in Oregon, vi:287
WHITNEY, ELI, infringements of his cotton gin patents, iv:191; life and inventions, iv:184
WHITTIER, JOHN GREENLEAF, biographical note; anti-slavery activities, vi:156; first Anti-slavery convention, 1833, described, vi:156; *Justice and Expediency,* his first venture in authorship, vi:158
WIGFALL, SENATOR, viii:20; demands the surrender of Fort Sumter,viii:56
WILDERNESS, battle of the, viii:221
WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, ii:286
WILLIAM *II,* Emperor of Germany, abdication, *text,* xii:187; apologizes in exile, xii:187; attitude before outbreak of war, shown in annotations to diplomatic correspondence, xi:23; celebrated order to defeat the English, xi:144; Kaiser's version of cause of the war, xi:48; Norwegian cruise, 1914, xi:48; telegrams between the Czar, the Kaiser and others, 1914, xi:37
WILLIAMS, ROGER, banished from Massachusetts, ii:151; in Rhode Island, ii:149; religious opinions, ii:150
*Willy-Nicky* telegrams, 1914, xi:37
WILMOT, DAVID, defends his proviso against slavery, vii:81
WILMOT PROVISO, vii:81, 152, 212
WILSON, HENRY, biographical note, ix:105; on the Fifteenth amendment, ix:105
WILSON, GEN. JAMES GRANT, biographical note, ix:266n; Death and funeral of Gen. Grant, ix:266
WILSON, WILLIAM L., Tariff bill, x:45
WILSON, WOODROW, address to Congress asking authority to act against Germany and put the country on a war footing, xii:25; administration criticised by Roosevelt, xi:238; anticipates a clash with Mexico, (text of message to Congress), x:299; Armistice acclaimed in address to Congress, xii:178; cautions victors in Armistice address, xii:178; *Fourteen points* address to Congress, *text,* xii:61; five additional points, *text,* xii:65; nomination for the presidency, 1912, x:289; notes of

warning to Germany, 1915, *texts,* xi:250, 266; on reasons for war with Germany, xii:25; international law on the seas, xii:27; democracy to supplant diplomacy, xii:32; friendship for German people, xii:32; proclamation calling the nation to arms and outlining conscription measures, *text,* xii:39; proposal of American intervention, 1916, xi:300; Thanksgiving proclamation, 1918, *text,* xii:182; veto message on return of Knox peace resolution, xii:223
WINGFIELD, EDWARD, chosen president of Jamestown, ii:71; deposed, ii:75; treatment of colonists, ii:74
WINNEBAGO INDIANS (Black Hawk war), vi:128, 130, 137, 147
WINSLOW, EDWARD, biographical note, ii:115n; how the Pilgrim fathers lived, ii:115
WINSLOW, COL. JOHN, deportation of the Acadians, iii:54
WISCONSIN RIVER, voyage of Père Marquette, ii:200
WITCHCRAFT in Europe, ii:280; in New England, ii:280
WOLFE, GEN. JAMES, character, iii:68; death, iii:71; defeats Montcalm at Quebec, iii:62; mortally wounded, iii:67
WOMEN, influence in Panama Canal zone, x:272, 276
WOMEN, INDIAN, i:167, 189, 233, 250, 272; killed by American soldiers, ii:213n, xi:146; killed by Sioux, vi:147; Sacajawea, guide of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, v:38, 51, 56
WOOD, GEN. LEONARD, biographical note, x:160n; Civil government in Cuba, x:160
WOOL and the McKinley Tariff bill, ix:307; and the Wilson Tariff bill, x:46
*World* (newspaper) stories of Panama canal corruption denounced by Roosevelt, x:238
WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, x:37
WRIGHT, ORVILLE and WRIGHT, WILBUR, Achievements with the airplane, x:184; first airplane to fly successfully, x:184

X

X Y Z correspondence, iv:204

Y

YEARDLEY, SIR GEORGE, conducts first General assembly, ii:90
YELLOW FEVER conquered in Panama Canal zone, x:265
YORKTOWN, battle of, reported by Cornwallis, iii:301; reported by Washington, iii:307
YOUNG, BRIGHAM, leads Mormons to Utah, vii:106
YOUNG, DR. HUGH H., Account of the discovery of anesthesia by Dr. C. H. Long, vii:65
YPRES, first battle of, xi:212

Z

ZARATE, DON FRANCISCO DE, Description of Sir F. Drake, i:292
ZIMMERMAN, DR. ALFRED, telegram anticipating German-Mexican alliance against the United States, xii:23